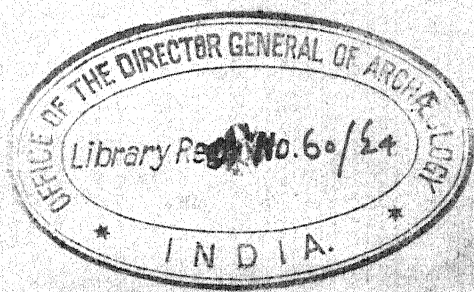
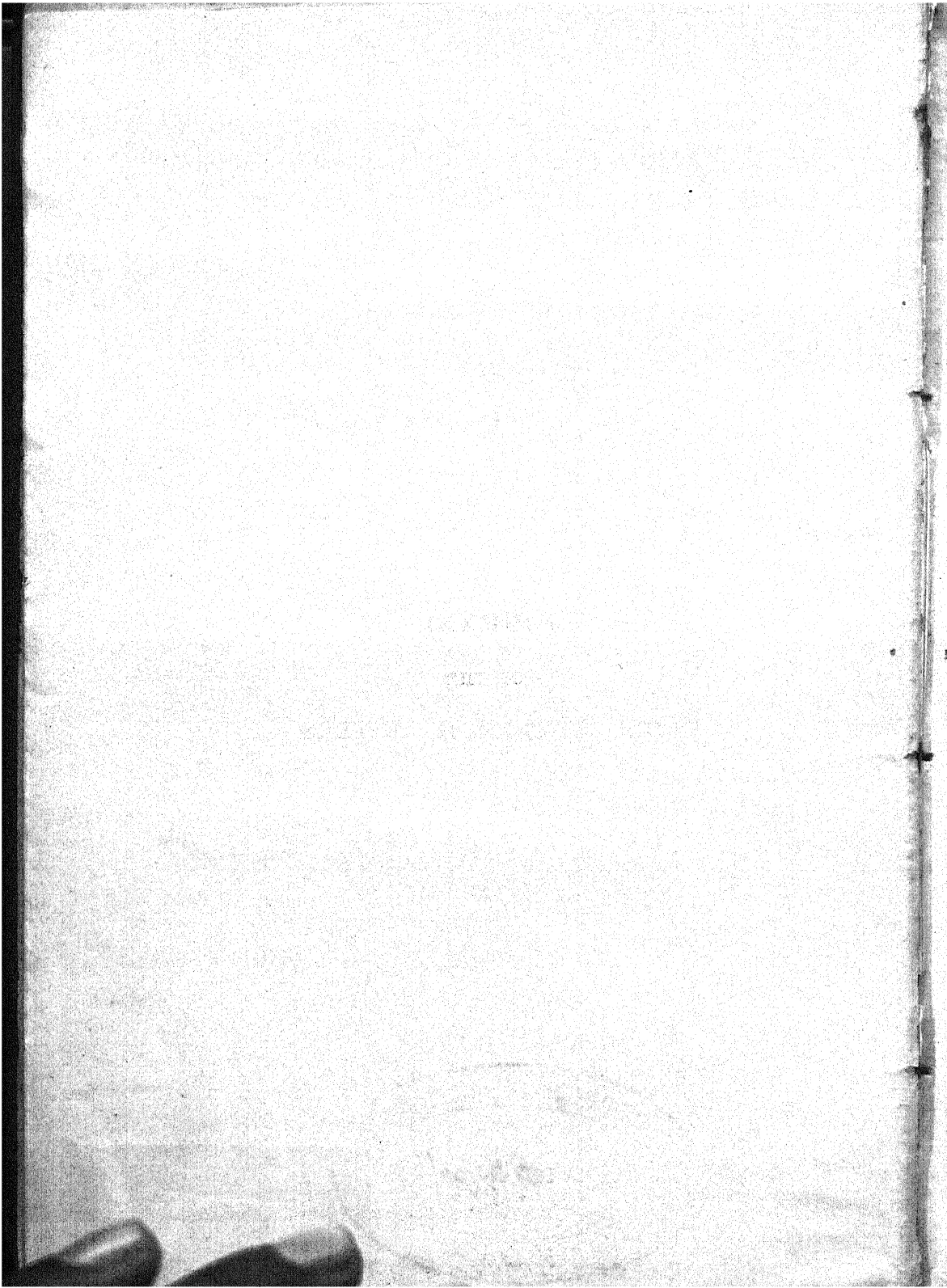


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Problems in Ancient "Egyptian" Chronology.

A SOLUTION.

By

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

In his *History of Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 32, Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie sets out what purports to be a list of reported Feast-dates connected with divers Sôthic-Risings as recorded by priests apparently flourishing in that comparatively recent age when KHEM of the ancient ROMIU, after a period of influences originating from Mykenæ, had become transmuted into Hellenized EGYPT. In this list we do not get the original reports, perhaps not even the actual Egyptian records—only an attempted reproduction of them. In certain respects (*e.g.*, where the list departs unwittingly from what may not unreasonably be deemed a scientific arrangement), it is a very muddled performance, being clearly the work of some one who had failed to realize the fact that the original reports were obviously constructed on a definite basic plan. One hesitates to think that the Egyptian priests, from whose archives the notes appear to have been extracted, were equally undiscerning.

To speak plainly, however, this archæological curiosity—quite apart from its own imperfections—has completely baffled *everybody*. To this day no one has been able to make head or tail of it; no one can see any good—any

possibilities—in it. One thing alone is recognised. Sōthic Risings, it is repeatedly urged, are *annual occurrences*, though of course, after a long but definite interval, some particular Rising marks the end of one Sōthic-Cycle and the beginning of another, and may therefore be described as epochal. But the Risings, the Feasts for which have been reported in this extraordinary manner, come under neither of these two heads! Hence the pathetic plaint on every side that, from this mysterious list, it is impossible to discover on what principle, if any, the reporting priests selected *these particular calendrical data*—the 7th, the 14th, the 21st, and the 28th of the month—with, however, a quaint occasional lapse into the 9th, the 22nd, the 29th, or the 1st—rather than any of the innumerable others, seemingly just as important and suitable, that were available!

Again, a perpetual stumbling-block for all interested in Egyptology—specialists not excluded—has been the meaning of, and the practical importance attached in the remote past to, what are known as the *Sed* and *Hunti Heb*-periods. Says George St. Clair—

“ That there was a thirty-year celebration, called the Sed festival, is evident in the inscriptions; but the Egyptologists have hardly known what to make of it. Erman says, ‘ The day of a king’s accession was kept as a yearly festival, and celebrated with special splendour on the 30th anniversary.’ Naville in his *Osorkon* takes the same view; and Brugsch also speaks of the thirty years’ jubilee of Rameses II. But this can hardly have been all that is meant, and is more likely to have been a secondary celebration modelled on a great one. On an obelisk of Queen Hatshepsu’s, at Karnak, we read—She has celebrated in honour of Amen the first Sed festival. Naville is puzzled, because on no supposition can he make this celebration to have taken place later than the 16th year of her reign (not the 30th). Besides, we may remark that she holds the feast in honour of her god, and not as her own jubilee ” (*Creation Records*, p. 279).

Then, after referring to the ideas of Brugsch and Gensler, St. Clair proceeds—

“ Our own suggestion is simpler and at the same time more adequate, for the periodical insertion of a 14th month would be easy, and a 30-day festival every 30th year would be an event to look forward to in every generation, while the kings would be very likely to mark their own 30th year by imitative celebrations ” “ Every fourth Sed festival would require to be treated as a leap-year, and have two months intercalated instead of one, and then the arrangement would work as well as the Julian Calendar before Pope Gregory’s rectification. The Egyptians actually had some festival recurring at intervals of 120 years ” (*Ib.*, p. 280).

Something was no doubt done to supplement the inadequacies of the 360° Spheroid (which was about $5\frac{1}{4}$ days shorter than the Natural Year), and that something appears to have been ingeniously turned into legendary form, and even eventually spiritualized, by the priests; but, in what we know of ancient Romic history, there is no evidence, so far as I am aware, that the Calendar was ever manipulated in the way here suggested by St. Clair. The 120-years Festival that he refers to was the spheroidal *Hunti-Heb* just about to be explained, and, like every other spheroidal *Heb*, it fell into place quite naturally, without any such periodical modifications as those proposed.

Writing as recently as 1914, Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge refers to certain “ Re-birth ” mysteries (the passing of a corpse through a bull’s skin¹) whereby the Pharaoh was supposed to receive a fresh lease of life and strength—though I doubt whether that was really the underlying

¹ Note.—Compare the idea of the Pygmies in Africa that, after death, a man’s body enters a Great Serpent—a conception that the Romiū themselves once entertained in connection with the defunct Rā, who, they held, was subsequently re-born in spiritual form in a double cave on an island in a lake.

meaning; and he (*i.e.*, Dr. Budge) does not hesitate to say that "The performance of these ceremonies was the sole reason for the celebration of the Set Festival" (*A short History of the Egyptian People*, p. 29). Comment seems unnecessary.

Professor Petrie thinks that these *Hebs* were "at fixed astronomical dates, and not dependent on the years of the reign." The second part of this statement is unquestionable. But, as regards the first part, the idea it conveys, though not altogether wrong, is also not exactly right. Undoubtedly the Feasts set forth in Petrie's Report-List were held in connection with certain Sōthic-Risings. But what *kind* of Sōthic-Risings? Sōthic-Risings were annual events. Also, one such Rising occurred at the end of each Sōthic-Cycle, and may therefore be called epochal. These reported Feasts, however, were in connection with Sōthic-Risings that were neither annual nor epochal! True, the Risings actually selected for report were "astronomical" phenomena. True, also, they were "fixed." But in what sense—apart from the fact that they were annual, and might or might not be epochal? In the sense that their importance for purposes of selection depended on the expiration-point of certain periodal divisions of the 364° Spheroid, regarded as a Cycle of 1456 spheroidal years. In the Report-List, the calendrical data—spaced out at regular intervals (7 spheroidal days, or 28 spheroidal years) which are really periodal divisions of that character—confirm this. They show that the particular annual Feasts reported were reported because of their organic relation to what turn out to be spheroidally based stretches of Time—periods known to the Romiū as *Sed*-periods, and (in connection with their original 360° Spheroid), commonly called "Thirty Years' periods." Moreover, the "Sed festival of Sirius' rising" which, in his *History of Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 131, Petrie speaks of as having taken

place in the 2nd regnal year of Mentu-hotep II of the Eleventh Dynasty, is not included in the Report-List. Possibly calendrical data for it were wanting.

Again, in his *History of Egypt*, at pp. 38 and 39, Professor Breasted of Chicago University, speaking of the Pharaoh's attire on ceremonial occasions, says—

“He wore ... and a simple garment suspended by a strap over one shoulder, to which a lion's tail was appended behind.”.....

Then, as regards the Crown Prince, Professor Breasted adds—

“On the thirtieth anniversary of his appointment by his father as crown-prince to the heirship of the kingdom, the king celebrated a great jubilee called the ‘Feast of Sed,’ a word meaning ‘tail’ and perhaps commemorating his assumption of the royal lion's tail at his appointment thirty years before.”

All this about “lions” and “tails” is possibly based on a modicum of fact; but, as an explanation of the words *Sed* and *Hunti*, in connection with the scientific recording of Time, it is unsatisfactory, and leaves one still wondering.

Be it remembered that—with their traditions of the Polar Clock—the ancient Romiū were familiarly acquainted with the ceaseless revolution of the constellation called by us the “Little Bear” (Anūbis=Jackal=Cynosura) round the Northern Pole-star for the time being, to which it is represented as attached by the tip of its tail, and round which it swings in the course of every 24 hours—thus, by its position in the heavens, indicating the time of the day and night, the seasons of the year, and doubtless also, approximately, the stage reached by the Cycle, which was one of 1440, 1456, 1460 or 1461 spheroidal years, according to the particular Spheroid in vogue, whether of 360° , 364° , 365° or $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$. It is here—in connection with these artificial calendrical Spheroids, and their divisions—that we begin to get an inkling of

the real significance, from a chronological standpoint, of the terms *Sed-Heb* and *Hunti-Heb*.

The various Calendrical Year-forms from time to time in vogue amongst the ancient Romiū, may be divided up spheroidally into Days, Rising-periods, *Sed*-periods, and *Hunti*-periods, thus—

The 360° Year (The "Unity" Spheroid)—

360 periods of	1	(the Spheroidal Day).
90 ,,	4	(4 Spheroidal Years, during which Sōthis rose annually on the same date).
12 ,,	30	(days of the month; but also, taken as spheroidal years, representing the <i>Sed-Heb</i> period for this Spheroid).
3 ,,	120	(Quadruple <i>Sed</i> -period, or <i>Hunti-Heb</i>).

N. B.— $360 \times 4 =$ the Cycle of 1440 spheroidal years.

The 364° Year (Luni-Osirian)—

360 periods of	$1\frac{4}{90}$
90 ,,	$4\frac{4}{90}$
13 ,,	28
$3\frac{7}{28}$,,	112

N. B.— $364 \times 4 =$ the Cycle of 1456 spheroidal years.

The 365° Year (Sōthic)—

360 periods of	$1\frac{1}{72}$
90 ,,	$4\frac{1}{18}$
12 ,,	$30\frac{5}{12}$
3 ,,	$121\frac{2}{3}$

N. B.— $365 \times 4 =$ the Cycle of 1460 spheroidal years.

The 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ ° Year (Younger Horus)—

360 periods of	$1\frac{7}{480}$
90 ,,	$4\frac{28}{480}$
12 ,,	$30\frac{7}{16}$
3 ,,	$121\frac{3}{4}$

N. B.— $365\frac{1}{4} \times 4 =$ the Cycle of 1461 spheroidal years.

Sed or *Set*, in fact, simply means 30, as *Hunti*, or *Henti*, simply means 120—but with reference only to the original old 360° Spheroid. In connection with that Spheroid, and as chronological terms, *Sed* and *Hunti* stand respectively for 30 and 120 spheroidal years; in connection with the 364° or Luni-Osirian, Spheroid, they stand for 28 and 112 spheroidal years; in connection with the 365° or Solar-Osirian Spheroid, for $30\frac{1}{2}$ and $121\frac{2}{3}$ spheroidal years; and in connection with the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$, or Solar-Horus Spheroid, for $30\frac{7}{16}$ and $121\frac{3}{4}$ spheroidal years.

In short, as periods of years, the *Sed* and *Hunti* were nothing but specific spheroidal divisions; and, as such, they varied in length with the exclusive structural character of the particular Spheroid—whether of 360° , 364° , 365° , or $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ —which happened for the time being to be in vogue in Khem for calendrical purposes.

All other alleged meanings of these terms, *Sed-Heb* and *Hunti-Heb*, when not merely fanciful, and if not wholly baseless, are, from the standpoint of chronology, of an importance only secondary and incidental to the meaning above set forth.

No doubt—as, for instance, during the reign of Rāmēsēs II—Royal Jubilees of sorts were indulged in. Some, or all, of these may even have been modelled on the great 30-year Panegyry, or Festival, of the 360° Spheroid; nevertheless, they were not genuine *Sed* and *Hunti Hebs*, organically related to the Spheroid as specific integral parts thereof. Of such real *Seds* or *Huntis* Rāmēsēs II celebrated three—(1) a *Sed* which fell in his 5th regnal year, B. C. $1264\frac{1}{8}$; (2) another *Sed* in his 35th regnal year, B. C. $1234\frac{3}{8}$; (3) a *Hunti* in his 65th regnal year, B. C. $1203\frac{13}{16}$ —each of which is on my General List of *Hebs*. These three are also “Clinch”-dates, or “Key”-dates, and, as such, are useful for adjustments in and around this period. All other celebrations in

Rāmēsēs II's reign—and there were many—were special occasions, or perhaps vanities personal to himself.

From time to time, in the course of their age-long career as a civilized people, the ancient Romiū (predecessors, before the 7th century B. C., of the “Egyptians”), made use of various artificial Spheroids—those noticed *supra*—all successively improved attempts at a calendrical harmonization with what experience showed was the Natural Year. The first in vogue was the 360° Spheroid, with its 12 months of 30 days each—each day representing “unity.” Originally (say, in round numbers, c. B. C. 4000), it stood for the *régime* of Ptah (*Patach*, the “Opener”), or that Polar Dial round which Anūbis moved like a clock-hand, and it started calendrically at the Celestial Summer Solstice, in those days, zōdiacally, somewhere in *Leo*, or *Sekhet*, “the Place of the Production of Fire”; but eventually it stood for the Solar *régime* of Rā I, starting calendrically at the Celestial Autumnal Equinox, wherever that then was. To this succeeded the 364° Spheroid, with its 13 months of 28 days each, which stood for the Luni-Osirian *régime*, starting ostensibly at the same Equinox—which, however, was then showing calendrically *as in Taurus*, when really it was *in Scorpio*; hence plainly “false.” Next came the 365° Spheroid, with its 12 months of nominally 30, but really $30\frac{5}{12}$, days each. At first it stood for the ambiguous Osirian *régime*, associated with both the old “false” Autumnal Equinox and the true Vernal Equinox, which latter was also somewhere in *Taurus*; but eventually it merged into the *régime* of Rā II, starting calendrically from the Celestial Summer Solstice, wherever that had got to. All these, of course, proved inadequate. Finally, the Romiū adopted the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid (practically true to Nature), with its 12 months of nominally 30, but really $30\frac{7}{16}$, days each. This stood for the famous Younger Horus *régime*, and at first it started

calendrically from the Celestial Vernal Equinox properly so-called, but eventually its year opened at the Celestial Summer Solstice. It is also on this Spheroid that our modern system of reckoning is based, though we distribute the days amongst the months differently.

But whatever may have been the artificial Spheroid from time to time recognized officially in Khem, the old original 360° Spheroid was never wholly discarded, at least for popular purposes. The masses continued to think and speak in terms of that Spheroid. Hence, in common *parlance*, the *Sed-Heb* was always called "the 30 years' Festival," even when the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Calendar, with its month of $30\frac{1}{4}$ days, was in vogue. Egyptologists do not seem to bear this fact in mind or to give it its due weight; but it is very necessary to do so.

Now, some time during the *régime* of Rā II—perhaps even of Osiris—the Romiū happened to observe—that our SUN completed some stupendous journey of a recurrent nature (possibly an orbital revolution round SIRIUS, or SŌTHIS, as its primary), in 1460 spheroidal years, as such years were known to them in association with the Cycle of their then artificial Spheroid of 365° . That is to say, they noticed that once, and once only, during such a Cycle, the annual Hēliacal Rising, or, as it was called in later "Egyptian" times, "Manifestation" (*Epiphany*), of Sōthis took place at 3 EPIPHI on the Fixed Clock of Nature (3 *Taurus* on the present conventional Zōdiac). This was exactly $231\frac{1}{2}$ spheroidal years by their own 365° Spheroid (=228 spheroidal years by the old original 360° Spheroid which stood for "unity") later than the close and fresh start, on the Fixed Clock aforesaid, of the older Cycle of what is called the SOLAR YEAR at O—1 THOTH (30 *Gemini*—1 *Cancer*, or the Celestial Summer Solstice, Zōdiacally).

Thereupon, and ever afterwards, this Cyclical point at F. 3 EIPHI became for them an Epoch.

To explain more in detail. *Between* F. 3 EIPHI, completed, and F. O-1 THOTH, starting the SOLAR CYCLE, lay 57 spheroidal days. This, multiplied by 4, for the 360° Spheroid, gives 228 spheroidal years. On the 364° Spheroid (where 4 changes to $4\frac{4}{5}$) this 228 was represented by $230\frac{2}{5}$; on the 365° Spheroid (where 4 changes to $4\frac{1}{5}$), by the $231\frac{1}{5}$ just mentioned; and on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid (where 4 changes to $4\frac{28}{30}$), it becomes $231\frac{5}{8}$. Moreover during the 3 successive days, starting from 30 PAONI on the Fixed Clock (30 *Aries* on the present conventional Zōdiac), completed, which ended with the Epochal Rising-day, F. 3 EIPHI, completed, the priests were wont to hold a continuous FEAST in honour of the approaching "Manifestation."

Between this F. 30 Paōni, completed, and F. O-1 Thoth starting the Solar Cycle, lay 60 (57 + 3) spheroidal days. Multiplied by 4, that meant, for the 360° Spheroid, 240 spheroidal years; multiplied by $4\frac{4}{5}$, it meant, for the 364° Spheroid, $242\frac{2}{5}$ spheroidal years; multiplied by $4\frac{1}{5}$, it meant, for their then 365° Spheroid, $243\frac{1}{5}$ spheroidal years; and, multiplied by $4\frac{28}{30}$, it meant, for the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, $243\frac{1}{2}$ spheroidal years.

According to modern reckoning, *i.e.*, on the basis of the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, with its exclusive Cycle of 1461 spheroidal years, this epochal phenomenon *actually occurred*, for the first time (after the commencement of "Civilization" in Khem, as marked by the Cyclic recording of Time from an arbitrary zero), in each one of the 4 spheroidal years for F. 3 EIPHI— $1226\frac{303}{480}$; $1227\frac{310}{480}$; $1228\frac{317}{480}$; and $1229\frac{324}{480}$. Thereafter, at the same point in every succeeding Cycle of 1461 years, it recurred regularly.

Hence, in calendrically harmonizing or equating the old SOLAR and the SŌTHIC YEARS, or CYCLES, I

make the latter commence *from* F. 3 EPIPHI, *i.e.*, with F. 4 EPIPHI. So far, then, we recognize actualities.

Nevertheless, the Romic priests seem to have attached *more importance to their Hebs, or Festivals, in honour of the impending "Manifestation" than to the "Manifestation" itself*; and as this great epochal *Heb* began immediately after the spheroidal quadrennium which ended with $1217\frac{240}{480}$ on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, *i.e.*, began on F. 1 EPIPHI (F. 1 THOTH, as starting the SOLAR YEAR, being at the Celestial Summer Solstice), and continued throughout F. 2 and F. 3 EPIPHI, or perhaps only till SŌTHIS actually "manifested" on the last-mentioned day, we have to assume that the *Official Priestly Date* of the event is represented chronologically, not by the quadrennium for the actual Rising on F. 3 EPIPHI, but by the quadrennium for the *exact middle of the Epochal Heb-period*—in other words, the quadrennium for F. 2 EPIPHI, *i.e.*, $1222\frac{275}{480}$; $1223\frac{282}{480}$; $1224\frac{289}{480}$; and $1225\frac{296}{480}$.

Moreover, within this *Epochal Quadrennium*, the particular year representing the precise date of what has been called the *Epochal "Coincidence"* between the SOLAR and SŌTHIC Calendars—and which, as we shall find, works out all our arithmetical calculations—is $1223\frac{282}{480}$, or (as deducted from Conventional B.C. 4004), B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$. This is a date to remember. It is sometimes roughly and loosely called B.C. 2781. It takes the place of the inaccurate Conventional "Coincidence" Date, B.C. 2780, or 2782.

Of course, if, on these lines, we were to frame our Calendrical Equation of the SOLAR and SŌTHIC YEARS, or CYCLES, in the priestly form 2 EPIPHI, Sŏthic = 1 THOTH, Solar, instead of in the form 4 EPIPHI, Sŏthic = 1 THOTH, Solar, representing actuality, we should have to add 2 more spheroidal days, or $8\frac{56}{480}$

spheroidal years, to the date-figures shown in the Solar column, *i.e.*, move 2 places further down in those date-figures. But we can arrive at the same end by keeping to the form 4 EPIPHI, Sōthic=1 THOTH, Solar (which already gives us the extra 2 days), and then adding, not only whatever previous Cycle or Cycles may be necessary, but also (to supply the Sōthic element in the result) $239\frac{2\frac{1}{2}}{480}$ spheroidal years of interval, or difference, representing, on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, 59 spheroidal days, instead of the 57 spheroidal days represented on the same Spheroid by the original $231\frac{1\frac{5}{6}}{480}$ spheroidal years.

Thus the ancient Romiū came into possession of two very different Calendrical Systems—one representing the SOLAR YEAR and its Cycle of Natural Time, starting with O-1 Thoth from the spheroidal point indicative of the Celestial Summer Solstice on the Fixed Clock (wherever that Solstitial point happened to be then, zōdiacally), and the other constituting what is commonly called the SŌTHIC CYCLE, also representing Natural Time, but starting with O-1 Thoth from, and ending, on the same Fixed Clock, with, the spheroidal point indicative of that Epochal Rising of Sirius on F. 3 Epiphi which only occurred once in every spheroidal Cycle.

To this Fixed Clock of Nature each of the artificial Spheroids above-mentioned was attachable in the shape of a calendrical Epicycle. Thus arose what is known as the VAGUE (or "Wandering") YEAR, whose New-Year's Day, 1 Thoth, acting as a Clock-hand, progressed round the Fixed Clock at a speed which depended entirely upon the number of degrees that the artificial Spheroid consisted of. To-day it has a more limited meaning, being restricted to the 365° Spheroid.

These two Calendrical Systems—that of the SOLAR CYCLE, and that of the SŌTHIC CYCLE—are recorded,

and ostensibly harmonized, at what have been styled "Coincidence" points (really epochal beginnings and endings of the Sōthic Cycle), on the *verso* of the so-called "Ebers Medical Papyrus"—another very curious document, the interpretation, in terms of "B.C." and "A.D." reckoning, put upon which by the learned (who only seem to have in their minds the 360° and the 365° Spheroids, and these mixed up), requires looking into.

By that interpretation the Solar Calendar appears to be taken, for a starting-point, to an epoch as far back as the quartet of years *called* "B. C. 4470—4467"; whence, in stages of 1460 years, it is seemingly brought down, through "B.C." 3010-3007, and "B.C." 1550-1547, to "B.C." 90-87...or, I suppose, as much farther as we like. The other (the Sōthic Calendar), as represented, starts 228 years later (really 228 on the 360° Spheroid only), apparently with the quartet of years *called* "B.C. 4242-4239"; whence, in similar stages, it is seemingly brought down, through "B.C." 2782-2779, and "B.C." 1322-1319, to A.D. 139-142. At the same time, it is obvious that, if this Sōthic Calendar is made to start 228 years (by the 360° Spheroid) after the Solar-Year Calendar, both should have been brought down in stages, not of 1460, but of 1440, spheroidal years. If the Sōthic Calendar be brought down in stages of 1460 spheroidal years, it should be made to start, not 228, but $231\frac{1}{8}$, spheroidal years later than so-called "B. C." 4470-4467, *i.e.*, with "B. C." $4238\frac{5}{8}$ - $4235\frac{5}{8}$. Similarly, if brought down in stages of 1456 spheroidal years, it should be made to start $230\frac{3}{4}$ years later than "B. C." 4470-4467; and lastly, if in stages of 1461 spheroidal years, then $231\frac{1\frac{5}{8}}{480}$ spheroidal years later than "B. C." 4470-4467. In short, the stage actually given (1460 years), besides being wrong and impossible in association with "228," is by no means necessarily the only appropriate stage to be

adopted. What that stage should be, depends entirely upon whether our calculations are being conducted on the basis of a Spheroid of 360° , of 364° , of 365° , or of $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$.

We shall find, however, that the proper way to treat these ostensible "harmonizations" is, not to *bring down* their figures from the remotest alleged B.C. date, but, by legitimate Cyclic stages (combined with correct "difference" periods), to *construct them backwards and forwards* from an assured "Coincidence" epoch (say B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$), to whatever B.C. date may be justifiably regarded as the "Beginning of Time," or "Civilization," and to a legitimate A.D. date. In brief, "B.C." 4470-4467 is not, in this sense, an established epoch—not, as suggested, a "fixed" date from which to space out successive "Coincidence" epochs downwards. Neither is "B.C." 4242. The whole thing—this *verso* "harmonization"—seems really built up upon the date of a supposed first Epochal Sōthic-Rising in what was apparently regarded as the A.D. Era, *i.e.*, on "A.D." 139-142. And that is in the air.

Apparently it is on the strength of the above extraordinary interpretation of this document that Professor Breasted cites so-called "B. C. 4242" (or, as he gives it, B. C. 4241) as "the earliest fixed date in the history of the world" (*History of Egypt*, p. 32). But, when the reader sees that "B. C. 4242" is only a paper epoch (wrongly arrived at, too), and that there seems no reason whatever why, by Cyclical leaps of 1460 years, the calculation—illegitimate though it is—should not go on and on into indefinite *pseudo*-B. C. depths, he will probably begin to wonder how the learned Professor could ever have countenanced such an exhibition of loose thinking.

As a matter of fact, these *verso* "harmonizations" reveal, or rather their hitherto accepted interpretation

reveals, an astonishing jumble of basic calendrical ideas. B. C. and A. D. years can *only* be thought of and stated in terms of the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid, which (*inter alia*) has a Cycle of 1461 spheroidal years, exclusive to itself. Yet, though, in the Sōthic-Time column on the *verso*, the Rising-dates given are stated in "A. D." and "B. C." years, we are carried back in these jottings from "A. D." 139-142 to so-called "B. C. 4242-4239," in stages of 1460 years—the exclusive Cycle for the 365° Spheroid! And lastly, alongside is placed, by way of "harmonization," a series of Solar-Time dates, each 228 years higher than its corresponding Sōthic-Time date—in artless unconcern, be it noted, for the hard fact that these 228 years belong exclusively to the 360° Spheroid, and are meaningless if and when associated with another Spheroid!

And how did the interpreters *get* their foundational "A. D." 139-142 in the Sōthic-Time column? They have flirted with no less than 3 distinct Spheroids—the 360° , the 365° , and the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroids; and they have ended up by leaving in the lurch, out of these, the one love (the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid) that they should have been true to!

The task of fixing A. D. years is, undoubtedly, a very difficult one. First, we do not know when, with reference to Precession and the Zōdiac, Jesus was born; secondly, A. D. years were practically never thought of till the time of the Council of Nicaea (over 3 centuries after Jesus's death!); thirdly, the "A. D. Era was not even in existence till over 200 years later, when it was invented by Dionysius Exiguus, in A. D. 532; fourthly, A. D. years have more than once been considerably altered by the Supreme Power for the time being; and fifthly, before, and even for some time during, the Christian Era, the Year began on or about 21 March, the terrestrial season indicating the Celestial Vernal Equinox,

but now it starts with 1st January ! To cap everything, as a result of continued Precession, the Vernal Equinox is now about a zodiacal sign farther on than the point where we conventionally place it—*i.e.*, it seems to have entered Aquarius !

Since Ussher's time, the birth of Jesus has been conventionally assigned to A. M. 4004 ; whence, of course, 0 = B. C. 4004. Before Dionysius Exiguus's day (A. D. 532), it had been commonly supposed that Jesus was born in the year that we would now style B. C. 4, *i.e.*, in A. M. 4000. Hence, the interpreters of these *verso* "harmonization" possibly regarded what is to-day called the Christian or A. D. Era as commencing with A. M. 4000. To-day Dr. Headlam considers that Jesus was probably born about B. C. 8 or 7 !

In view of all this uncertainty, it would be much better to abandon the Christian Era, or any other such terrestrially personal and particular era, and adopt one founded on some definitely ascertainable Cosmic Event—if possible unique, or otherwise sufficiently outstanding.

But again I ask, how did these interpreters *obtain* their Sōthic date, "A. D." 139-142 ? It is ostensibly related to the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid now in vogue ; yet they have obviously been working with the 360° and 365° Spheroids. Which method do they now profess to stand by ?

We now know that an epochal hēliacal Rising of Sirius occurred *officially* (*i.e.*, according to the priestly ideas and preferences of the old Romic chronologers) during the quadrennium A. M. $1222\frac{275}{480}$ — $1225\frac{296}{480}$ = B. C. $2781\frac{205}{480}$ — $2778\frac{184}{480}$; though these figures as we have seen, do not represent the time at which the Rising actually took place. The next officially epochal Rising, after the lapse of 1461 spheroidal years, must have been

B. C. $1320\frac{205}{480}$ — $1317\frac{184}{480}$; and the next, after another 1461 spheroidal years, must have been A. D. $140\frac{275}{480}$ — $143\frac{296}{480}$. We arrive at this result by calculations based on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, with its exclusive Cycle of 1461 spheroidal years; and only by that way *can* we reach the right goal.

We may, indeed, resort to A.M. $1221\frac{53}{72}$ — $1224\frac{56}{72}$ as the quadrennium for F. 2 EPIPHI on the basis of the 365° Spheroid; and thence, by stages of 1460 spheroidal years (the proper Cycle for that Spheroid), we can arrive at A.D. $137\frac{53}{72}$ — $140\frac{56}{72}$. But, although the interpreters of the *verso* “harmonizations” were working with a Cycle of 1460 years, and were therefore really based on the 365° Spheroid, did *they* get their “A.D.” 139-142 along these lines? I think not. I imagine they relied exclusively on the statement attributed to Censorinus (said to have flourished in the 3rd century A.D., *i.e.*, about 2 centuries before the invention of that era by Dionysius Exiguus), to the effect that an epochal hēliacal Rising of Sōthis took place in “A.D.” 139. Compare however, the Alexandrian coin bearing the word “Aīōn” (No. 1004 in the British Museum) which records such an occurrence as distinguishing the year A.D. 143.

In any case, it is clear that “A.D.” or “B.C.” figures, based on a Spheroid of 365° and a related Cycle of necessarily 1460 spheroidal years, can never be the same as A.D. and B.C. figures arrived at by modern reckoning, *i.e.*, based on a spheroid of $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ and a related Cycle of necessarily 1461 spheroidal years.

The true first Sōthic date in real A.D. times, then, was A.D. $140\frac{275}{480}$ — $143\frac{296}{480}$, not this “A.D.” 139-142 of the *verso* “harmonizations.”

Now let us count back from this A.D. $140\frac{275}{480}$ — $143\frac{296}{480}$ in stages, *not* of 1460, but of 1461, spheroidal years. For the SōTHIC-TIME column in the *verso* “harmonizations,”

we get B.C. $1320\frac{205}{480} - 1317\frac{184}{480}$; then B.C. $2781\frac{205}{480} - 2778\frac{184}{480}$; and lastly (unless, of course, we care to go farther), B.C. $4242\frac{205}{480} - 4239\frac{184}{480}$.

Then, to get our SOLAR-YEAR dates, what do we do? We raise these figures. But *not* by 228, as is done by the interpreters! We raise them by the figure which, on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ spheroid, takes the place of 228 on the 360° , or "unity," spheroid,—*i.e.*, $231\frac{156}{480}$ spheroidal years.

Thus, by *legitimate* stages of 1461 spheroidal years, we arrive, for the SOLAR Calendar, at the following quartets of years—B.C. $4473\frac{361}{480} - 4470\frac{340}{480}$; $3012\frac{361}{480} - 3009\frac{340}{480}$; $1551\frac{361}{480} - 1548\frac{340}{480}$; and $90\frac{361}{480} - 67\frac{340}{480}$.

If, therefore, any year at all, in the remote history of the world—as marking the beginning of Recorded Time in Khem—can be legitimately spoken of as "the earliest fixed," or even "the earliest fixable"—and this depends on many other data of knowledge not now the subject of enquiry—that year would appear to be, neither "B.C." 4242, nor B.C. 4241, but rather B.C. $4242\frac{205}{480}$, SÖTHIC. Roughly we may regard it as the opening of the Tauric Era.

Of course, within the above quadrennium B.C. $2781\frac{205}{480} - 2778\frac{184}{480}$, (in fact, its second year) is the notable year B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$, which we have already set apart as one of our "Coincidence" dates, *i.e.*, on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid. If we take that epoch as our base, we get the preferable Söthic series B.C. $4241\frac{196}{480}$ (our "earliest" date); B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$; B.C. $1319\frac{198}{480}$; A.D. $141\frac{282}{480}$; and so on.

NOTE.—In an earlier draft of this paper I assumed that the particulars on the *verso* of the "Ebers Medical Papyrus" were jotted down in A. D. times. I have been told (by Mr. T. George Allen, of Haskell Oriental Museum, Chicago, who read a copy of that draft) that the assumption so made is wholly unjustified, as the writing is clearly of the type current in the 16th century B.C., and quite different from the style in use so much later. Accepting the correction (for I had never seen the script or the *verso*, or any reproduction of them), it seems to me that in that case the problem is only shifted from considerations regarding the mentality of the *verso*-scribe to considerations regarding the conclusions of those responsible for the conventional interpretation.

Revert now to what may conveniently be called Petrie's List of Reported Sōthic-Rising (or Feast) Dates, as recorded by the "Egyptian" priests. These curious vestiges of, or relating to, the remote past, need no longer bewilder us.

In my original pamphlet on *Ancient Romic Chronology* (see Calcutta University's *Journal of Letters* for 1920, Vol. I), I alluded to the fact that, for the Cycle belonging to every one of the known artificial Spheroids from time to time in vogue amongst the ancient Romiū—the 360° , 364° , 365° , and $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroids—it was possible, starting in each case from *zero*, to make a complete list of all Sōthic-Rising (or Feast) Dates, and of all the *Sed* and *Hunti Hebs* ever celebrated by the Romiū—provided always, of course, that we can ascertain the epoch at which Civilization began in Khem, *i.e.*, at which the Romiū commenced to record Time scientifically and regularly. In such of these General Feast and *Heb* Lists as are based on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, there is one date of outstanding importance—that associated in Petrie's List with the Calendrical datum 21 "Epiphi." We are told that it was not only a *Sed-Heb* year, but also Queen Hatshepsūt's 16th, and Pharaoh Thothmēs III's 3rd, regnal year—a triple conjunction of most welcome conditions! As such, it can only be A. M. $2526\frac{5}{16}$ ($1065\frac{5}{16}$ in its own Cycle, + a previous Cycle of 1461), or B. C. $1477\frac{1}{16}$, as appearing in the above General Lists. Hence, in a very unique way, it is a "Clinch"-date, and governs the entire situation. In other words, as the *Sed-Heb* period for the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid (corresponding to the 28 Luni-Osirian spheroidal years between the various Calendrical data in Petrie's List) is one of $30\frac{7}{8}$ spheroidal years, the remaining serially-stated Calendrical data in Petrie's List, if expressed in terms of modern reckoning, may be assigned to dates spaced out regularly at

intervals of exactly $30\frac{7}{8}$ spheroidal years before or after B. C. 1477 $\frac{11}{8}$.

Is there any method of viewing and treating these reported Calendrical data which will yield us this controlling date, apart altogether from, and independently of, the General Lists above referred to? There is. And in the working out of that method we obtain, I think, the solution of the mystery heretofore surrounding these peculiarly reported S5thic-Risings.

In their regular stages of 7 spheroidal days, or 28 spheroidal years, the Reported Dates, I suggest, are all arranged in accordance with a priest-invented Scheme based, as regards at least the days of the month, on the *Luni-Osirian Spheroid* of 364° . This has a Year-form of 13 months of only 28 days each; a day of $1\frac{1}{360}$ days on the old original 360° Spheroid; a Cycle of 1456 spheroidal years, being $360 \times 4\frac{4}{5}$, or 364×4 ; and a *Sed-Heb* period of 28 of its own spheroidal years.

The sequence of Calendrical data in Petrie's List, for each Luni-Osirian month, is obviously 7, 14, 21, 28 (with certain lapses, it is true, into other figures); each such stretch of 7 days representing, on the Cycle, 28 Luni-Osirian spheroidal years ($7 \times 4 = 28$), corresponding to the Luni-Osirian *Sed-Heb* period of 28 years—the equivalent, on the 360° Spheroid, of 30 spheroidal years; on the 365° Spheroid, of $30\frac{5}{12}$ spheroidal years; and, on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid (where we also get our modern reckoning), of $30\frac{7}{8}$ spheroidal years. As signifying merely 30 and 120 on the old original 360° Spheroid of the Polar Clock, the *Sed*-period and the *Hunti*-period are simply mathematical sub-divisions of that Spheroid, and metamorphose automatically into higher numerical values when other Spheroids come into play. Dates, called "B. C.," can, of course—as we have occasionally seen—be worried out to a fraction on the exclusive basis of the

360°, the 364°, or the 365° Spheroid; but naturally, until raised to the higher plane of the $365\frac{1}{4}$ ° Spheroid, they do not, and cannot, harmonize with the system of reckoning now in vogue with us.

Clearly, therefore, when our *object* is to express results in terms of modern reckoning, it will not do to make our calculations on the basis of the 360°, the 364°, or the 365° Spheroid—working, for example, with the 1440-year, the 1456-year, or even the 1460-year Cycle—and then, prefixing “B. C.,” or “A. D.,” to our final figures, naïvely imagine that thereby we have stated them in terms of current chronology. We must betake ourselves to the very differently constituted $365\frac{1}{4}$ ° Spheroid, and use it as an auxiliary to the 364° Spheroid. I shall show too, presently, that we can even work with it exclusively.

There, the day is $1\frac{7}{480}$ of the “unity” days on the 360° Spheroid; the year has 12 months of nominally 30, but really $30\frac{7}{16}$, days each; the Cycle is one of 1461 spheroidal years, being $360 \times 4\frac{28}{80}$, or $365\frac{1}{4} \times 4$; and the *Sed-Heb* period consists of $30\frac{7}{16}$ spheroidal years—the “30-years’ *Sed*” of common *parlance*.

At the same time, we must remember that the “21” of “21 Epiphi,” in the Report-List, is not 21 of the ordinary “unity” days on the 360° Spheroid; nor is it 21 days of $1\frac{1}{72}$, as on the 365° Spheroid; nor is it even 21 days of $1\frac{7}{480}$, as on the $365\frac{1}{4}$ ° Spheroid. *It is 21 Luni-Osirian days.* A Luni-Osirian day, recollect, is $1\frac{1}{90}$ “unity” days on the 360° Spheroid. Hence, to get the correct expression of this “21 Epiphi” in terms of modern reckoning, we must treat $1\frac{1}{90}$ as though it were “unity,” and multiply it by $1\frac{7}{480}$. Thereby we obtain $1\frac{1}{480}\frac{11}{20}\frac{7}{10}$ —the equivalent on the $365\frac{1}{4}$ ° Spheroid of the Luni-Osirian day regarded as “unity.” Thus—multiplying that in turn by 21—“21 Epiphi,” by modern reckoning, really emerges as “ $21\frac{23}{480}\frac{11}{20}\frac{7}{10}$ Epiphi.” Then, to find what this represents

in spheroidal years, we multiply by 4, which gives us $86 \frac{7428}{43200}$. Thereby, as it were mechanically, we side-step from *month* Epiphi on the 364° Spheroid to the higher plane of *month* Epiphi on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid. To these spheroidal years for Solar Epiphi must now be added the number of spheroidal years represented on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid by all the Calendar days preceding that month, *i.e.*, from O-1 Thoth to 30 Paōni, completed. These amount to $1217\frac{1}{2}$. The sum aggregates $1303 \frac{29028}{43200}$ (*cf.* the $1302\frac{348}{43200}$ in my General List, under the heading $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid); and that, deducted from B.C. $2780\frac{198}{43200}$ (the correct "Coincidence" Epoch at this stage for the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid), gives us only B.C. $1476\frac{31922}{43200}$, *not* our "Clinch" = date B.C. $1477\frac{1}{16}$. If, instead of B.C. $2780\frac{198}{43200}$, we adopt the looser B.C. 2781, we get B.C. $1477\frac{14172}{43200}$ —the year right, though not the fraction. This, however, is really illegitimate. But if, instead of Luni-Osirian *cum* Solar $1303 \frac{29028}{43200}$, we resort to purely Solar $1302\frac{348}{43200}$ (listed aggregate just mentioned), and deduct *that* from the correct "Coincidence" figure, $2780\frac{198}{43200}$, we arrive at B.C. $1477\frac{1}{16}$ *exactly*!

If, by way of checking what has just been worked out along Luni-Osirian *cum* Solar lines, we base our calculations on the Solar $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid alone, and assume the 21 days of Epiphi to have been 21 of $1\frac{7}{480}$ each, for Epiphi on the Fixed Clock, with Thoth starting from the Celestial Summer Solstice, we obtain the very same result, but reach it quite quickly and easily.

$1\frac{7}{480} \times 21 = 85\frac{108}{480}$. Add $1217\frac{348}{43200}$, and we get the $1302\frac{348}{43200}$ alluded to *supra*. Deduct this from B.C. $2780\frac{198}{43200}$, and the result is B.C. $1477\frac{330}{43200}$ (*i.e.*, $1477\frac{1}{16}$) *precisely*! This therefore, seems the better method of the two.

Note that, as A.M. $1302\frac{348}{43200}$, deducted from A.M. $2526\frac{150}{43200} =$ A.M. $1223\frac{382}{43200}$, or B.C. $2780\frac{198}{43200}$, it follows that the Cycle of 1461 spheroidal years, in which "21 Epiphi" (in the Petrie List of Risings) is represented by A.M.

1302 $\frac{348}{480}$, must have commenced with A.M. 1223 $\frac{288}{480}$, or B.C. 2780 $\frac{198}{480}$ our old friend the "Coincidence" date), as its *zero*.

Now, assuming B.C. 1477 $\frac{11}{16}$, for the "21 Epiphi" in Petrie's List, to be established, Amon-hetep I's 9th regnal year (really represented by "7 Epiphi," not by "9 Epiphi," which is somebody's blunder) turns out to be A.M. 2465 $\frac{210}{480}$ = B.C. 1538 $\frac{270}{480}$. His first regnal year, therefore, would have been A.M. 2457 $\frac{154}{480}$ = B.C. 1546 $\frac{226}{480}$. Accordingly, the first regnal year of the FOUNDER OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY—ĀHMĒS I, who reigned 25 years—was really A.M. 2432 $\frac{466}{480}$ = B.C. 1571 $\frac{14}{480}$. It is usually given in the books as "B.C." 1580, ostensibly modern reckoning, though really based on the 360° Spheroid.

By the foregoing Luni-Osirian *cum* Solar method all the other dates in Petrie's List, before and after "21 Epiphi" (provided they really belong to this priest-invented Scheme, and are not mere "lapses" on the part of some copyist), fall into place precisely as they should in relation to the "controlling date," B. C. 1477 $\frac{11}{16}$ —*i. e.*, exactly, as regards the years, though not exactly, as regards the fractions. Seeing, however, that we are working with a blend of two quite differently constituted Spheroids, and therefore two quite different Calendars and Cycles, this appears to be as satisfactory an approximation to the chronological truth as may reasonably be expected at present. Moreover, we are not tied down to this particular method, which has only been thus brought forward as a possible explanation of the mysteries hitherto lurking in Petrie's Report-List. As I have shown, there is a shorter and better method. Besides, as a last resource, we can always check results by my General Lists.

It has, of course, to be remembered that, in the distant days of the 364° Spheroid, the Romiū had not ventured

to regard the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid as the possible basis for an improved artificial Calendar. At the same time, they had glimmerings of its importance; and so, though not actually adopting it (they had not even, at that time, adopted the 365° Spheroid!), they nevertheless clearly recognised something of its utility—at least to the extent of groping out at it as an auxiliary.

We can even get at (or near) the *Kahun* Sōthic-Rising, or Feast, by this rather complicated method that I have just been suggesting—*i.e.*, taking the reported Calendrical datum as Luni-Osirian, and then expressing the result of our calculations in terms of the Solar $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid.

The reported date is “the 15th day of the 8th month,” *i.e.*, 15 Pharmūthi, counting from O—1 Thoth. It is put thus vaguely, and not stated definitely as “15 Pharmūthi,” possibly because, in those old times, when as yet the Sōthic Cycle was unheard of, the much later Hellenized (doubtless at first Mykenized) nomenclature for the Romic months, even if known, was not in use. The Luni-Osirian day, remember, is (for our purposes) $1\frac{111}{43200}$, which in this case has to be multiplied by 15. The 15th Pharmūthi would then become “the $15\frac{1665}{43200}$ th Pharmūthi.” Multiplied by 4, to get spheroidal years, this produces $61\frac{244}{43200}$. Add $852\frac{108}{43200}$ for the spheroidal years before Pharmūthi, *i.e.*, up to the end of Phamenōth, as found on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, and we obtain $913\frac{35420}{43200}$ (compare the $913\frac{60}{480}$ for the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid on my General List of Risings from Cyclical O). Subtract this $913\frac{35420}{43200}$ from B. C. $2780\frac{108}{480}$, the correct “Coincidence” date), and we get only B. C. $1866\frac{250}{432}$. Subtract it from the rougher B. C. 2781, and we get B.C. $1867\frac{780}{43200}$ —though illegitimately. But if we resort to the above $913\frac{60}{480}$, and subtract *it* from B.C. $2780\frac{108}{480}$, we get B.C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$ —the true date, as I submit, of this old 12th Dynasty Rising, expressed in terms of modern reckoning.

On a Sōthic-Time basis we can check this thus. As the Sōthic Year begins with Epiphi of the Fixed clock of Nature, the "8th month," by that system, would be Mekhir; and, according to our harmonization or equation of the SOLAR and SŌTHIC YEARS, wherein 4 Epiphi, Sōthic, equates with 1 Thoth, Solar, the 15th Mekhir, Sōthic, equates with the 18th Khoiak, Solar. The quadrennium for this is—

$$435\frac{123}{480}$$

$$436\frac{130}{480}$$

$$437\frac{137}{480}$$

$$438\frac{144}{480}$$

Out of these select the second, $436\frac{130}{480}$. Add 1461, and we get $1897\frac{130}{480}$. To this, again, we have to add $239\frac{212}{480}$ spheroidal years, representing on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid the 59 days, counting back to and including the old Romic priests' 2 Epiphi (referred to *supra*), from the 1 Thoth *with* which the Solar year started. Hence—

$$1897\frac{130}{480}$$

$$239\frac{212}{480}$$

$$2136\frac{342}{480}$$

Subtract this from Conventional B. C. 4004, and the remainder is the *exact result* we want, *i.e.*, B. C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$!

Results based on a Cycle of 1460 spheroidal years arising out of the 365° Spheroid—*e.g.*, the "B. C." 1880 usually accepted for the *Kahūn* Rising—cannot possibly represent modern reckoning, *i.e.*, cannot be what is properly understood to-day as B. C. How H. R. Hall gets his "certain date of 1876 or 1872 B.C." (*Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 23) does not appear. Also, I wonder whether his B. C. is indeed B. C., and not rather "B. C.," like so may others. In any case, his figures are wrong.

All the foregoing proceeds on the assumption that, as regards every Epochal Sōthic-Rising, the spheroidal point with which it coincided *actually* was different from the spheroidal point with which (for purposes of Chronology) it was *officially*, *i.e.*, by the priests, regarded as coinciding. In the former case it was 3 Epiphi on the Fixed Clock of Nature. In the latter case it was the quadrennium for F. 2 Epiphi, *i.e.*, the quadrennium for the half-way point of the 3-days' continuous Feast, beginning from F. 30 Paōni, held by the priests in honour of the impending "Manifestation." And, within that quadrennium, the particular year was A. M. $1223\frac{282}{480} = \text{B. C. } 2780\frac{198}{480}$. In other words, it was the point indicative, on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid of the close of one Sōthic Cycle and the immediate commencement of its successor. The results, however, would be just the same if, instead of the spheroidal point for the middle of the continuous 3-days' Feast, we were to take the point for the *actual Rising*, as the epochal point alluded to. The only difference would be a change in our method of calculating, *i.e.*, in our logistic, or, in modern parlance, our arithmetic.

As regards the side-step from one of the 13 months on the 364° Spheroid to one of the 12 months on the higher plane of the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, referred to *supra*, the following further remarks may be welcome. Naturally, the months on the two Spheroids do not dove-tail into each other. For instance, Solar Epiphi, on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, equates for only 8 days with Luni-Osirian Epiphi on the 364° Spheroid, these 8 beginning with the 21st of the last-mentioned month. The balance of Solar Epiphi's nominal 30 days corresponds to 22 days of Luni-Osirian Mesorē, the penultimate month on that Spheroid. Hence, "21 Epiphi," in Petrie's List, is seemingly only 1 Epiphi on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid. However,

the inventors of the suggested Scheme (not contemplating the use of the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid exclusively) naturally took no account of what Luni-Osirian calendrical data really meant, when considered in the light of the higher plane of the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid. Hence, they seem to have taken their *month-names*, at least eventually, from the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid, and, at least originally, only the selected serial *days of the month* (7, 14, 21, 28) from the 364° Spheroid. Note that in the Report-List, there is no series of 7, 14, 21, 28, for the 13th Luni-Osirian month. There, the Calendrical datum "28 Mesorē" is followed straightaway by the datum "7 Thoth" on a fresh Cyclical round. In short, as regards these two very different Spheroids, the Scheme apparently contemplates working with both, in combination.

Another point inviting notice is this. As the Scheme above-mentioned—at least so far as concerns the days of the month in the Calendrical data—was *ex hypothesi* based on the Luni-Osirian Spheroid, Calendar, and Cycle, starting from the so called Celestial Autumnal Equinox, *i. e.*, the old calendrically "false" Autumnal Equinox, really *the true Celestial Spring Equinox*, ever in vogue at Memphis, the Reports were doubtless issued from, and the record of them kept at, that famous centre of ancient Romic and later "Egyptian" Culture and Power, or somewhere within its sphere of influence; and, having regard to the obviously Hellenized nomenclature of the months mentioned in the Report List, the priestly record-keepers, if not the actual reporters, may be taken to have been comparatively modern "Egyptians," not men of the ancient Romic stock.

To sum up. We now know definitely what were the meanings, the importance, and the practical uses in connection with the recording of Time, of the technical terms *Sed* and *Hunti*, and also what complex ideas really

lay behind such simple popular expressions as "the 30-years' Festival, etc."

We also now know what value to attach to the particulars regarding the Solar Cycle and the Sōthic Cycle, recorded on the *verso* of the "Ebers Medical Papyrus," and also what the correct particulars should have been.

We also now know to a certainty where to look on the Spheroid of the Fixed Clock of Nature to find the exact point indicative of the epochal moment when one Sōthic Cycle ended and another began.

We also now know that in practice the Romic priests differentiated between the *actual* date of an Epochal Sōthic-Rising and their own *official* date for it; and that, in connection with the national system of recording Time, they preferred, and in fact adopted, their own official date.

We also now know that the reason why the Sōthic-Risings, or Feasts, for the Calendrical data (7, 14, 21, 28, of the month) in Petrie's Report-List, were specifically chosen by the priests of old for purposes of report, and not any other of the countless Risings which occurred annually with unfailing precision, was because, in connection with the "Manifestations," the Cycle of the Solar Year, the Sōthic Cycle, and the various Spheroids from time to time in vogue—notably two, the 364° and the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroids—some one had invented a Scheme based in certain important respects on the Luni-Osirian Spheroid, Calendar, and Cycle, but also based in certain other important respects on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid as an auxiliary, with its special Calendar and Cycle.

How this Scheme works, and even produces results expressible in terms almost identical with those of modern reckoning, I have tried to show by concrete examples.

Given the known particulars regarding any Sōthic-Rising, or Feast, found inscribed on a monument, or

otherwise recorded amongst the vestiges of the remote Romic past—even if they consist of bare Calendrical data like “21 Epiphi,” *supra*—and provided such particulars can be connected with the above-mentioned Scheme, it should now be quite possible, indeed easy (save for the arithmetic involved), to fix the place of that Rising, or Feast, in whatever Cycle it may chance to belong to, *i. e.*, whether of the 360° , the 364° , the 365° , or the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, and even, on the basis of the last-mentioned, to present it in terms of modern reckoning, in every case exact, at least to the year, nay, in some cases (those where the desired date is said to have coincided with a *Sed* or *Hunti Heb*, *i. e.*, with one of the spheroidal years on my General *Heb* and Rising Lists) exact to the fraction of a year. Of course, if a mere Calendrical datum, so found, cannot be switched on to the above Scheme, and thus related to some “Manifestation,” or Feast, it would be impossible, without supplementary data, to put it on any Cycle, or state it in terms of modern reckoning.

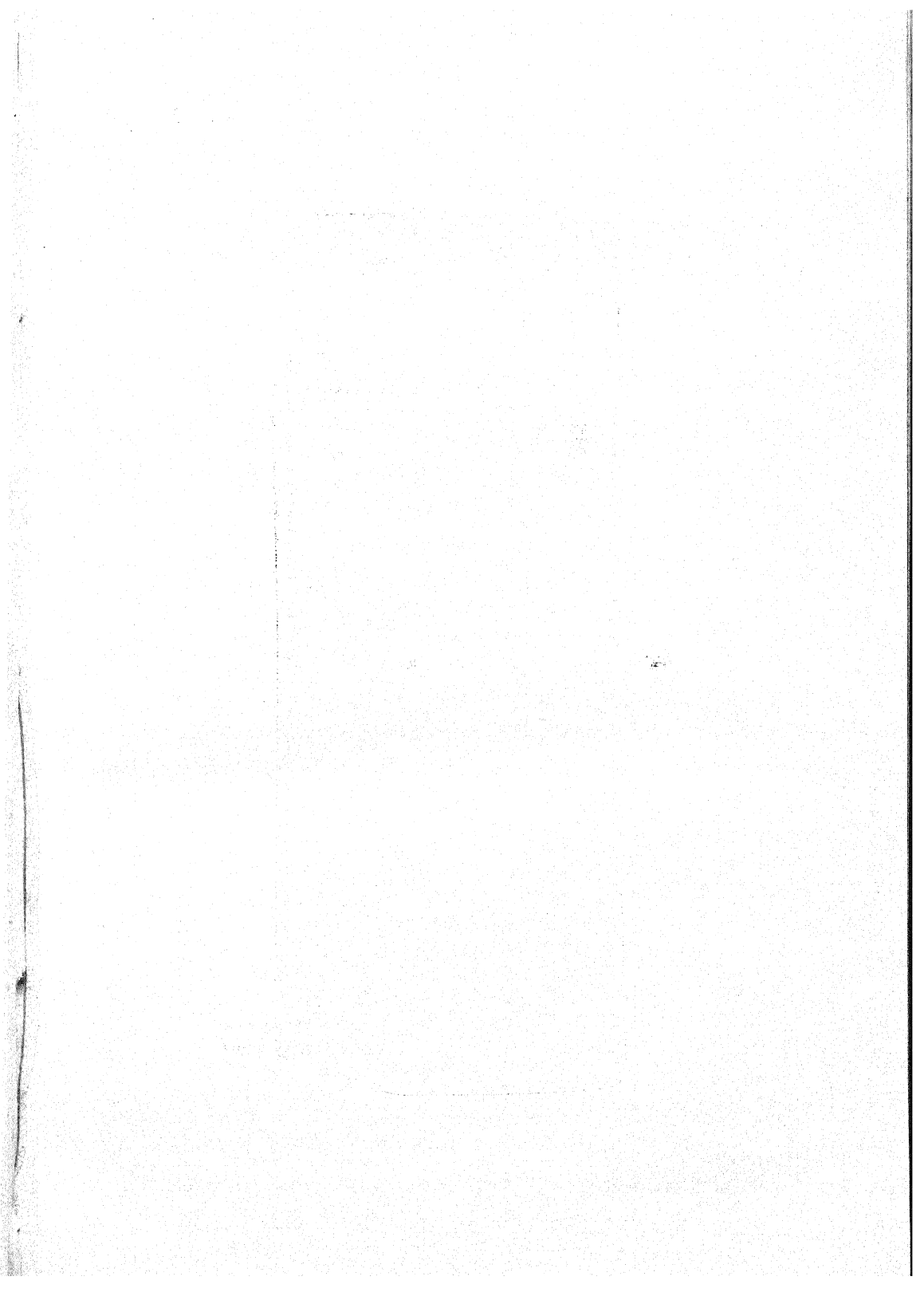
With regard to any *future* discovery in the shape of an ancient Romic date, provided the datum is already connected, or can be connected, with some “Manifestation,” or Feast, and that sufficient is otherwise known to enable us to decide what the Cycle was and whether it was based on the 360° , the 364° , the 365° , or the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, it should be an equally simple matter to determine any such date’s place on the Cycle, and to state it also in terms of modern reckoning, and with a like degree of precision.

It may be well to repeat that every one of the Rising, or Feast, dates mentioned in Petrie’s List—and as many others of the same kind, before and after them, as we care to follow out—can be got without trouble by simply resorting to my General List of Rising, or Feast, Dates in a Cycle, applying it to as many Cycles as we desire, and

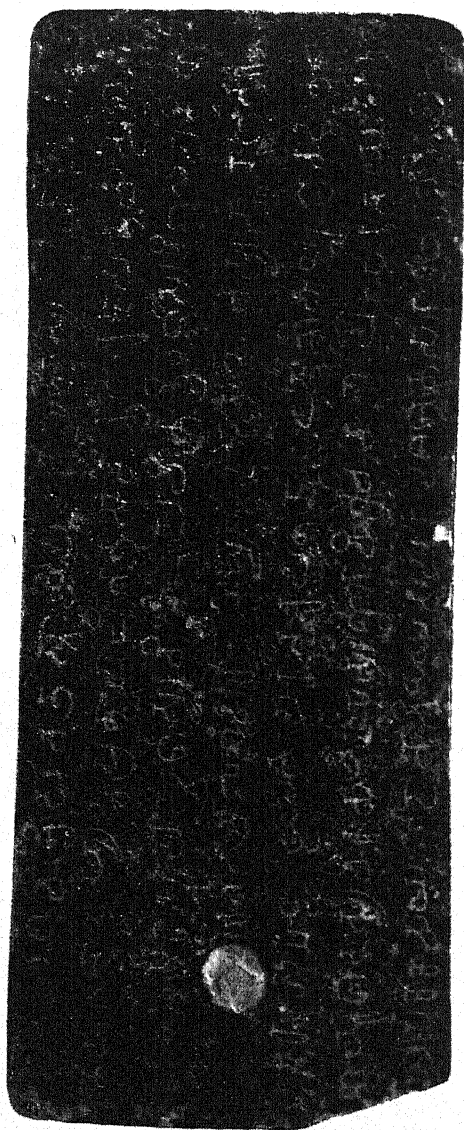
there ticking off every 7th date from *zero* in each Cycle. In brief, those General Lists are a check upon, and a final Court of Appeal for, whatever results we arrive at when interesting ourselves only in Petrie's List.

Lastly, I am no arithmetician. All calculations *supra* are only my own rough way of working ideas out. Doubtless they can be improved and simplified. Possibly, as they stand, they need correction.

The annexed Diagram may be of use in following the statements and arguments above submitted.



I



The Telugu Academy Plates of Vishṇu- kuṇḍin=Mādhavavarma III

A. D. 594

BY

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Very little is known of the kings that ruled prior to the advent of the Eastern Chālukyas (circa 610 A. D.) over that portion of the east coast of the Indian Peninsula, which was called in ancient times the Southern Kalinga and the Kingdom of Vēṅgi.¹ This land is practically the same as was subsequently known by the appellation of the Northern Circars,² during the Mahamadan period.

Importance of the
grant.

¹ The district of Vēṅgi was originally confined to the sea-coast portion, lying between the Krishṇā and the Godāvari rivers. But after the conquest of it by the Eastern Chālukyas the name was applied generally to their kingdom. Thus we find in the Telugu *Mahābhārata* written in the reign of Rājārāja I (1022-1063) and dedicated to him, that Rajamundry in the Vēṅgi country was like the central gem in a garland of gems (*nāyakaratna*) [*Ādiparva*, I. 8.]

² The word *sarkār* was used in the sense of a division of land—a district. The name *Northern Circars* dates from the Musalman occupation of this part of the country. There were then five *circars*: namely, *Murtzānnagar*, *Mustafānnagar*, *Ellore*, *Rājamundry* and *Chicacole*. The districts are now called with various changes of boundaries, Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kishna and Guntur. The *Circars* were ceded to the East India Company by the Nizam in 1766, receiving £50,000 per annum as its rent. In 1823, the claims of the Nizam over the *Northern Circars* were put an end to by a money payment from the East India company of 116½ lakhs.

Except a small portion in the north,³ this region is inhabited by the Telugu-speaking population. We know from stray copper grants, that this land was ruled by several kings of various dynasties, prior to its conquest by Pulakēsin II and his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, who became the founder of the Eastern-Chālukyan line of Rajahmundry. We have many disconnected grants, found in this region, of the Pallavas,⁴ the Śālankāyanas,⁵ the Vishṇukundins,⁶ the Ikshvākus⁷ and the Brihatpalāyanas.⁸ But the relative chronology of these different dynasties is not known. Our only source for fixing the dates of these kings, had hitherto been the paleography of their grants, which, as is well known to the Epigraphists, does not always yield very satisfactory results. I therefore attach much importance to these Telugu Academy plates of Vishṇukundin Mādhavavarma III, which I am now publishing for the first time in English, as they furnish us clear data to fix the exact date of the last of the Vishṇukundins, who chances to be the contemporary and perhaps the vanquished rival of the first sovereign of the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty. Taking this date as the starting point, we can without much difficulty arrange the chronology of the several pre-Chālukyan dynasties.

³ The vernacular of the northern portion of Ganjam is Uria.

⁴ The Mydavole grant, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 84; the Chendalur plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 233.

⁵ The Kollēru plates of Nandivarma, Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 175, and Burnell's S.J. *Paleography*, p. 14, and plates 20 and 21; The Ellore grant of Vizayavarma, Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 56. There are two grants of the Śālankāyanas newly discovered with me to be published.

⁶ The Īpur plates C. P. 12 of 1919-20 Epigraphical reports, southern circle; Rāmāthīrtham plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 133; the Chikkulla Plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 193; c. p. 11 of 1919-20, Ep. R. (S. S.).

⁷ The three inscriptions found in the Jaggayapeta Stupa, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 286.

⁸ The Kondamudi plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 315.

This grant was found in 1913 buried underground, along with an Eastern Chālukyan grant of Jayasimha I in the village of Polamūru, in the Godavari district of the Madras Presidency. Its history. A tentative reading of it was then published in a Telugu Journal by Mr. D. Prakasa Rao of Cocanada. It was then sent to the Telugu Academy, whence it was lent to the Government Epigraphist, Southern Circle. It was noticed in the Government Epigraphical reports^o as C. P. No. 7 of 1913-14. I am now editing and publishing it for the first time in English with plates from the originals deposited in the Museum of the Telugu Academy, Madras.

The grant consists of four copper plates each measuring $6\frac{3}{8}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. These are strung together on an oval ($3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{7}{8}''$) copper ring which is $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick. Plates described. The plates and the ring together weigh nearly $41\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. The first and the last of the plates are comparatively thinner than the second and third ones and consequently there are small holes in them and the first plate is broken a little in the lower part, thereby causing damage to one or two letters. The seal which was originally attached to the ring was broken and is missing, except a small part of it which still sticks to one of the ends of the ring. Unlike the grants of the later Chālukyas the edges of these plates are not raised into rims to protect the letters. This is one of the distinguishing marks of the pre-Chālukyan and the early-Chālukyan grants. The grants of the early Pallavas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukunḍins are of this nature. The copper plates of the period between the fifth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era are, in addition, generally thin and small as contrasted with the massive plates of the later Chālukyas of Vēṅgi.

^o Epigraphical Reports, Southern Circle, 1914, p. 102, para. 35.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit throughout.

Language.

It is in prose, except in ll. 14-16 where we find a verse composed by the author.

There are of course at the end the usual imprecatory and laudatory verses, ll. 29-33 and ll. 35-41. It is not clear whether the verses in ll. 29-33 are original or are taken from other inscriptions or books. The author however seems to be a novice at Sanskrit composition and versification. The *anushtup* verse in ll. 14-16 lacks in all literary merit. It therefore makes one suspect, whether it was not originally meant to convey some *bandha* or some historical matter. But I have not been able to trace any implied meaning in it, though I have consulted several scholars about it.^{9a} Then the first verse in ll. 29-31 has a syllable in excess of what the foot of an *anushtup* requires. In l. 30 श्रेयाकीर्ति ought to be श्रेयःकीर्ति, महामात्रयोधयोस्तेषां ought to be महामात्रयोधयोस्तयोः ।

^{9a} After writing the above an idea suggested to me which may help to reveal the hidden meaning of this verse. But as I am still diffident about my conjecture I prefer to give it in a foot-note. I think the words केशवं सत्तं, ऐन्दवं कान्तिं, and विक्रमादात्मसूरिभूः are capable of yielding double meaning. *Vikrama* means prowess and king named *Vikrama*. *Chālukya Pulakēsin I* who was a contemporary of *Mādhavavarma III* had the title of *Rana-vikrama*. *Aindavikānti* may mean the lustre of the moon or a city called *Indukanti*. We know from the *Aihole* inscription of *Pulakēsin II* that his grand-father *Pulakēsin I* was living in a city called *Indukanti* before he captured *Vātāpi*. (verse 7) [See *Fleet's* translation of it in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 239, and also the translation of *Burgess* in *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. III, p. 136.] *Kaiśavam Sattvam* may mean the strength (might) of *Kēśava* (*Vishnu*) or the hill fort of *Harivatsakotta*—*Sattva* in Sanskrit means also a hill. In the *Undivātika* grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 163; *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 514) a certain *Jayasimha* is said to be its commander. If this *Jayasimha* was the grand-father of *Ranavikrama Pulakēsin I*, as suggested by *Dr. Dubreuil* (*Ancient History*, p. 111), it is natural that this fort should have been in *Pulakēsin's* possession. Now if my suggestion of double meaning is correct, this verse suggests that *Mādhavavarma III*, who had a long reign of more than sixty years, would be the contemporary of both *Pulakesin I* and *II*, took the city of *Indukanti* and the hill fort of *Harivatsakotta* from *Ranavikrama Pulakesin I*. The taking of *Harivatsakottai*, which is placed somewhere on the *Mahādeva* hills, near *Jabbalpure* is not impossible, as we have identified *Trivaranagara*, the place of *Mādhavavarma's* father-in-law with *Tewar* in *Jabbalpure* district. In helping his

The **alphabet** is the Telugu-Canarese script current on the East-coast in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. It shows a gradual development of what Burnell¹⁰ calls 'the Vēngi alphabet' of the Śāṅkāyanas of the fourth and fifth centuries. This is perhaps the final development of what Bühler in his *Indische Palaeographie* calls the 'Archaic variety of the Canarese and Telugu alphabet' (Cols. 12, 13, 14 and 17 of the plate VII) and which according to him persisted up to the end of the reigns of the first two Chālukyas of Vēngi. The letters of the present grant small in size, are well executed and preserved, though the engraver has been careless in a few places. The letters belong to the round hand and resemble those of the Godavari plates¹¹ of Prithivīmūla, Rāmathirtham plates¹² of Indrabhattarakavarma and the Chikkulla plates¹³ of Vikramēndravarma II. They can also be compared with the Chīpurapalli¹⁴ and Timmāpuram¹⁵ plates of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana. Some of the letters in our plates show an intermediate stage of development, between the former and the latter sets of grants. We find five numerical symbols in these plates. The four plates are given their serial numbers, so that we have the numerals, 1 to 4; and at the end of the fourth plate the regnal year of the king is given as 48. The first two

Chēdi father-in-law against the Chālukyas or independently Mādhavavarma might have captured that hill fort. I must however point out one apparent objection to my view. Dr. Kielhorn, who has edited the Aihole inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, after it was published by Fleet and Burgess, does not adopt the double meaning of the word *Indukanti* in his translation. Some of the double meanings were suggested to me by Prof. Pishōli.

¹⁰ Burnell's *South Indian Paleography*, 2nd Ed., p. 16, and plate I.

¹¹ *J. Bo. B. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 114.

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 133.

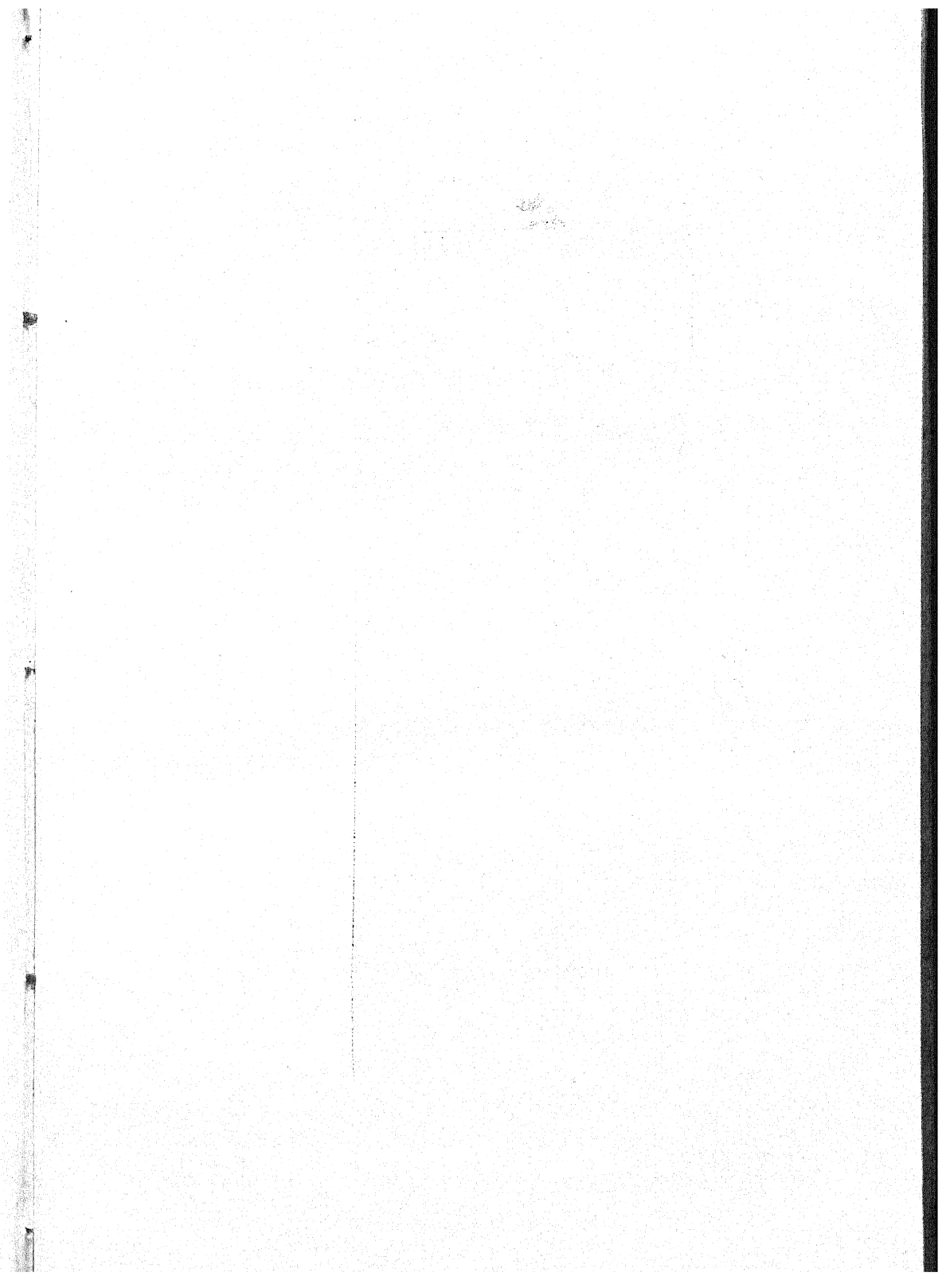
¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 193.

¹⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16; Burnell's *S. I. Paleography*, 2nd ed., plate XXVII.

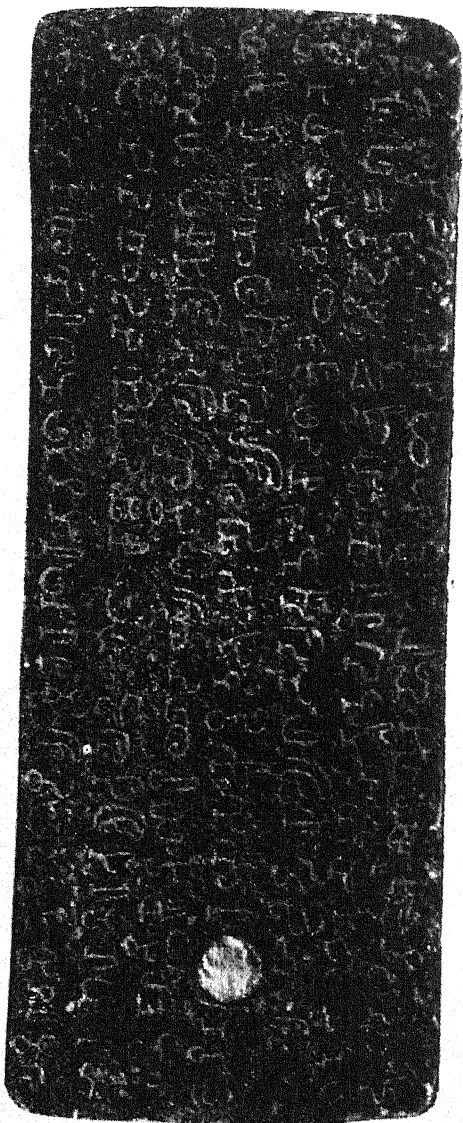
¹⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 318.

numerals resemble the Vēṅgi-Pallava numerals as shown in the plate XXIII of Dr. Burnell. The numeral three resembles the vowel ॠ as written at present in Telugu (ॠ). Numeral 4 is represented by a cross+. This symbol is found even in the Asoka alphabets and the Eastern cave alphabets. Again the last symbol (48) is represented by the combination of the symbols for 40 and for 8. The symbol for 40 is found in the Western cave alphabet and the symbol for 8 is seen in the Chikkulla plates.

There are some peculiarities in the **orthography** of these plates. The words *varga* Orthography. *vishaye* (l. 3) *vishayye* (l. 19) are also written as *vargga* (l. 3) and *vishayye* (l. 18). The word *varma* (ll. 6-14) is spelt with a single 'm' while the word *sarmma* (ll. 22-23) is written with two m's. *Appratihata* (l. 1) has a double p शौर्यौदार्य is written as शौरियोदार्य. *Anusvāra* is sometimes placed on the letter next to the one to which it refers (l. 40). The writer changes *anusvāra* into *m* in places where according to Sanskrit grammar it cannot so change, e.g., परदत्तम्बा (l. 37). In l. 6 प्रियतनयः is written as पृयतनयः and in l. 3 वृद्ध is spelt as त्रिद्ध. This confusion of spelling clearly demonstrates that, even so early as the sixth century the Sanskrit vowel ॠ had lost its vowel sound and was pronounced just like the syllable रि. Then there is another peculiarity. The word पितृ is written as पित् in l. 17. We know that at present the vowel ॠ has two different values in Northern and Southern India. People of Northern India and of Bengal pronounce it as रि. This may be called the *Gaudian* pronunciation. The people of Southern India—the Mahrathas, the Canarese, the Telugus and the Tamils pronounce it as रू. This may be called the *Dravidian* pronunciation of the vowel. Now our grant by representing पितृ as पित् indicates that



IIa



this vowel was then beginning to change its value in the South. We find in this grant both the Gaudian and the Dravidian values of the vowel. Perhaps the learned followed the Gaudian phonetics, while the laymen were changing the sound in their own way.

The donor **Mādhavavarma** was the dear son of **Gōvindavarma** (l. 6) and the
Gist of the grant. grandson of **Vishnukundin Vikramahēndra** (l. 4). This **Vikramahēndra** was a worshipper of the god of **Srīparvata** (l. 1) and was the conqueror of a number of feudatory kings (l. 2). **Govindavarma** was a victor in many battles, had the title of *Vikramāśraya* (the abode of valour, l. 6). **Mādhavavarma** was a very famous hero (ll. 6-7), was fond of the women in the palace of **Trivara**, had performed thousand (ordinary) sacrifices and eleven horse-sacrifices (l. 12), possessed many virtues (ll. 9-11), was born out of the golden womb (of a cow) and had the title of *janāśraya* (peoples' support). In the forty-eighth year of his reign (l. 41) he started on an expedition to conquer the countries lying in the eastern quarter and having crossed the river **Gōdāvari** (ll. 22-23) made a gift of a village called **Pulumbūru** in the **Gudda-vāda vishaya** together with a field measuring four *nivartanas* to a Brahmin called **Śivasarma** coming from **Kundūru** in **Kamma-rāshtra** and belonging to *Goutamagōtra* and *Taittiriya* branch (of the *Yajurvēda* (ll. 22-25). This Brahmin was a *brahmachārin* and had learned the four *Vedas*. He was the son of **Dāmasarma** and the grandson of **Rudrasarma**. This gift was made on the full moon day in the month of *Phālguna*, when there was a lunar eclipse (ll. 25-27). The executors of this charity were **Hastikōśa** and **Virakosa**. They were to take special care to see that the donee was not disturbed in his possession by any body (ll. 29-34).

We can without much difficulty identify almost all the places mentioned in this grant. The village of **Pulumbūru**, the object of the donation, is of course the present village of Polamūru where the present grant and the subsequent confirming grant of Jayasimha I were found buried together. This village is to the north of the river Gōdāvari in the Rāmachandrāpuram taluk, of the Gōdāvari district (Madras Presidency). It was on a branch of the Gōdāvari which was known by the name of Tulyabhāga before the construction of the *anikut*. It was subsequently turned into a drainage canal. The grant mentions a village of **Maindavātaki** (l. 20). The present village of Mahēndravāda which touches the southern boundary of Polamūru may be identified with it. Pulumbūru is said to be, in the grant, on the banks of **Dhalayavavi**. Perhaps Tulyabhāga was then so called in the vernacular of the district. The village of Pulumbūru is said to have been situated in the province of **Guddavādi-vishaya**. We know from numberless inscriptions at Drāksharāma, which is now situated in the Rāmachandrāpur taluk, that it was in ancient times situated in the Guddavādi-*naṇḍu* and formed a subdivision of Gangagoṇḍa chōḍa-valanaṇḍu¹⁶ in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Similarly we know from Kōrumilli plates¹⁷ that the village of Kōrumilli, which is now in the Rāmachandrāpuram taluk, was also situated in ancient times within the province of Guddavādi *vishaya*. Similarly the Pithāpur pillar inscription¹⁸ of Mallidēva and Manyasatya II of the year S. S. 1117 (1195 A. D.) mentions Odi-yūru of Guddavādi *vishaya* which is identified with the modern village Oduru in the Rāmachandrāpuram taluk. We can therefore

Places identified.

¹⁶ Ep. Reports, S. C., 1894, p. 5.

¹⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 53.

¹⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 83.

safely conclude that the major portion of this taluk was known in ancient times as Guddavādi *vishaya*, for more than six centuries. We must however distinguish this Guddavādi from Gudrahāra or Gudrāra *vishaya*, an ancient province which was around Guḍivāḍa in the Krishna district. The donee of our plates is said to have been the resident of a village called **Kundūru** in **Kamma rāshtra**. The Kamma-rāshtra is a well known province in the South Indian Epigraphy. It included the northern portion of the Nellore district and a part of the present Guntur district.¹⁹ We cannot be very sure of the exact position of the village of Kundūru to which the donee belonged. There is a village called Konḍūru in Sattanēpalli taluk and another in the Tanuku taluk of the Guntur district known by the name of Peda Konḍūru. At the latter place there are some inscriptions²⁰ of the twelfth century, which mention the name Konḍūru and an inscription²¹ of the fourteenth century which mentions Konḍūri-*sthala*. The king is described in our plates as one 'who was fond of the best of the women living in the palace of Trivara (ll. 8-9).' This I take to be the euphemistic way of telling us that Mādhavavarma had married a wife from the city of Trivara. I am tempted to identify this Trivara with Tewar in the Central Provinces (Jabalpūr district). We know that Tewar was once a very famous city and for a long time the capital of the kings of Chedi. General Cunningham has given the connected history of Chēdi or Kalachuri kings in his *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. IX.²² We get some more definite information about these kings from the Abhona plates²³ and

¹⁹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 250.

²⁰ Ep. Reports S. S. 1921, stone inscriptions numbered as 695, 696.

²¹ *Ibid*, No. 715.

²² P. 112.

²³ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 294.

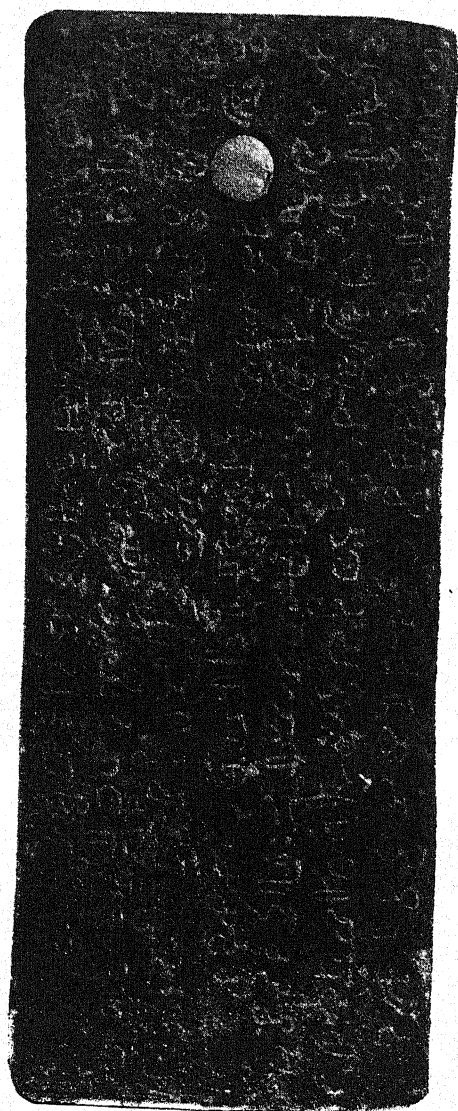
the Sarsabny plates.²⁴ The king called Śankaragaṇa who reigned from 595, or most probably his father Krishnarāja, was the father-in-law of our Mādhavavarma III. It is known to us from the Chikkulla plates that the Vishṇukunḍins had matrimonial alliances with the Vākātakas. Vikramēndravarmān I is there said to be 'a prince whose birth shed glory on both the Vishṇukunḍin and Vākātaka families.' It clearly means that his father had married a princess from the Vākātaka family. According to Cunningham's map,²⁵ the kingdom of the Vākātakas was just to the south of the Chēdis. It may be that after the fall of the Vākātakas about the year 500 A. D. the Chedis occupied their territory and continued to rule for a century more, when they were, almost simultaneously with the Vishṇukunḍins, overthrown by the Western Chālukyas. We can therefore infer that the Vishṇukunḍins were cleverly arranging matrimonial alliances with powerful ruling dynasties of Central India. They must have won the sea-coast districts of the Telugu country at the beginning of the fourth century with the help of the powerful Vākātaka kings and maintained themselves afterwards with the help of the Chēdis. Both the Chēdis and the Vishṇukunḍins were swept away by the powerful race of the Western Chālukyas at the end of the sixth century.

We are told in our plates that Mādhavavarma III had crossed the river Gōdāvari with a view to conquer the Eastern quarter when he gave the donation (l. 22). We have to take that he started on an expedition against the North-eastern region, *i.e.*, the Kalinga country and was coming from his capital which must have been somewhere in the present Kistna or Guntur districts of the

Mādhavavarma's
conquests.

²⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 295.

²⁵ Archeological Survey of India, Vol. IX, map at the end.



11

12

Madras Presidency. Even at present the people of these districts call the inhabitants of the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts 'the Eastern people' (*toorpuvandlu*). We know from the Chikkulla plates ^{25a} that Mādhavavarma's grand-father Vikramēndravarma II had his capital Dendulūru near Ellore and Vēṅgi. These plates were found in the Kistna district and the Īpur plates ^{25b} of Mādhavavarma II and III were secured in the Guntur district. We can therefore safely infer that the Vēṅgi country was occupied by the Vishṇukunḍins at least four generations before Mādhavavarma III. The donee of our plates seems to have been brought from Kammarāshtra by the donor to the Guddavādi *vishaya*, which was decidedly a more fertile land as compared with the Kammarāshtra. We can therefore infer that the whole of the Kammarāshtra was included within the kingdom of Mādhavavarma. As for Guddavāda *vishaya* it was not a new conquest in the forty-eighth year of his reign, as it is known from the Īpur plates issued by him, that eleven years previously, *i.e.*, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Mādhavavarma III this very king gifted away a village in the same *vishaya*. The king then gave his orders from his victorious camp (विजयस्तन्दावारात्). He was perhaps on one of his periodical victory campaigns at that time. Mādhavavarma's great-grand-father Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman had his sovereignty in the Paḷakirāshtra in the Vizagapatam district. ^{25c} But it seems that the possession of that part of Kalinga by Vishṇukunḍins was very precarious. It was perhaps not possible to control the eastern quarter from Dendulūru near the banks of the Krishṇa. The kings of this line had therefore to invade periodically the north-eastern part of the

^{25a} Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 193.

^{25b} C. p. No. 12 of 1919-20 Ep. R. (S. C.).

^{25c} See Rāmatīrthan plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 133.

sea-coast which was generally usurped by the kings of Kalinga or their subordinates.

It is very fortunate that the **date** of these plates and consequently the period of the reign of Mādhavavarma can be determined almost exactly. It so happened that these plates were found along with the plates of Jayasimha I²⁶ (633-663), the donee of which is the son of the donee of Mādhavavarma's plates. I have given in the Appendix A, a transcript of the plates of Jayasimha I, so that the description of the donees in the two grants may be compared by the readers. If we compare the names of the donees and their ancestors in these two grants, it will be found that Mādhavarma gives the village of Pulumbūru in the Guddavādi *vishaya* to one Śivaśarma a Brahmin of *Taittirīya-Śākha*, belonging to *Gautama-gōtra*, son of Dāmaśarma, grandson of Rudraśarma, and that Jayasimha I confirms the grant of the same village to Rudraśarma, a Brahmin of *Taittirīya-Śākha* and *Gautama-gōtra*, son of Śivaśarma and grandson of Dāmaśarma. This Rudraśarma is described as one who was already in possession of the village as an *agrahārika*—(*pūrvāgrahārika*). Thus Mādhavavarma's donee being the father of Jayasimha's donee, it is but natural that Mādhavavarma should be the contemporary of Jayasimha's father Kubja-Vishṇuvar-dhana, the founder of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty of Veṅgi and his uncle Pulakēsin II, the famous South-Indian rival of Śrī-Harsha the Great.

Fixing thus roughly the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century as the period of Mādhavavarma's reign, let us attempt if we can make it more definite. The plates give the lunar eclipse on the

²⁶ As for the dates of the kings of the Eastern Chālukyas, I have adopted tentatively those given by Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX.

full moon-day of the month of *Phālguna* as the occasion for the grant (ll. 25-7). In the years 575, 593, 594, 612 and 621 of the Christian era lunar eclipses occur in the month of *Phālguna*. Of these I reject the first as being too early a date for the 48th year of the reign of a king who must have been defeated by Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana or his brother Pulakēsin II. I reject the last (621) as being too late a date for a king who was apparently defeated by Pulakēsin in the beginning of the seventh century, about 610 A. D. We know that Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana had declared independence about 616. Of the three remaining dates, it so happens that the lunar eclipses in 593 and 612 were not visible in India, as they occurred at a time when the sun was above the horizon in India.²⁷ Thus we hit upon 594 as the only possible date on which Mādhavavarma could have issued this grant. Tenth of February 594 A. D. is then in all probability the day on which this grant was issued. It is stated at the end of the grant that it was issued in the 48th year of the king's reign. His reign should have therefore commenced in or about 546 A. D. If this Mādhavavarma was the last of the Vishṇukunḍins whom Pulakēsin II or his younger brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana had defeated, before occupying Vengi, he must have ruled for not less than 65 years (546-610). We know that this Mādhavavarma had a son called Manchanna-Bhattāraka.²⁸ It may even be that this Mañchanna, and not his father, had the misfortune of being completely and finally overthrown by Pulakēsin. Or it may be that though Mādhavavarma was overthrown

²⁷ I owe this information to Dr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, author of *Indian Chronology*. He has kindly calculated the exact moments of the occurrence of those lunar eclipses for me.

²⁸ Īpur Plates of Mādhavavarma III, C. P. II of 1919-20. The *ajñapti* in this grant is the 'dear son Mañchanna Bhattāraka' (अस्मान्नामप्रियपुत्रःमन्चगमभारकः) Ep. R. (S. C.) 1920, p. 98.

in his old age by Pulakēsin or Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, his son struggled on for some days more for the lost kingdom. We find that the confirming grant of Jayasimha I was issued from his victorious camp (विजयस्कन्दावरात्). It is not improbable that the enemy whom Jayasimha I defeated near about Pulumbūru was Mañichanṇa Bhattāraka, the beloved son of Mādhavavarma III. If this were true Mañichanṇa must have continued his fruitless efforts up to 638 at least, as Jayasimha's Polamūr grant gives the fifth regnal year as the date when it was issued and we know that Jayasimha began to rule in 633.

Taking the dates of Mādhavavarma III as the starting point, we can approximately fix the Genealogy and chronology of the dates of the previous kings belonging to this Vishnukundin line. Dr. Dubreuil of Pondicherry has prepared a genealogy of this line in his 'Ancient History of the Deccan.'²⁹ He had before him only three copper grants issued by the kings of this family when he prepared that genealogy. But we can take it as correct so far as it goes. Since then two more copper grants³⁰ of the Vishnukundins have been found, one³¹ issued by the second and the other³² by

²⁹ P. 90.

³⁰ Ep. Reports S. C. 1920, p. 97, para. 7.

³¹ Īpur plates of Mādhavavarma II, C. P. 12 of 1919-20.

³² Īpur plates of Mādhavavarma III, C. P. 11 of 1919-20. Of the two grants of the Vishnukundins newly discovered by the Department of Epigraphy (S.C.) at Īpur in 1920 (C. P. Nos. 11-12 of 1919-20) the C. P. No. 11 clearly belongs to an age which was at least one century older than the age of Mādhavavarma III. But the C. P. No. 12 undoubtedly belongs to the age of our plates. There is the most convincing evidence in the report of the same year (1920), to show that C. P. No. 12 was issued by a Mādhavavarma who could not have lived prior to Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana's age. C. P. 9 of that year's collection was issued when Maṅgiyavarāja, the great-grandson of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, was a grown-up man. By this grant a village is given to one Mandasarma (cf the *Vatsagōtra*, grandson of Agnisarma. Now turn to the C. P. No. 11 of Mādhavavarma. The donee there chances to be the very Agnisarma of *Vatsagōtra*, presumably the grandfather

the last of the Mādhavavarmanas. With the additional information supplied by these grants I add two generations above and one generation below to the genealogy given by Dr. Dubreuil. And the result is as follows :—

GENEALOGY OF THE VISHṆUKUṆḌINS.

C. P. 12 of 1919-20 Ep. R.	{	Mādhavavarma I	{	Chikulla plates Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 193.	
		(357-382)			
Dēvavarma	(382-407)				
Ramathirtham plates Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 133.	{	Mādhavavarma II			
		(407-444)			
		Vikramēndravarmān I			(444-469)
Telugu Academy grant or the Polamur plates.	{	Indrabhattārakavarman			
		(469-496)			
		Vikramēndravarmān II			(496-521)
		Gōvindavarman			(521-546)
		Mādhavavarma III	(546-610)		
		Manchanna Bhattāraka	(610- ?)	C. P. 11 of 1919-20. Ep. R.	

Taking 546 as the first year of the reign of Mādhavavarman III and calculating at an average of 25 years per generation we can fix approximately the dates of the kings shown in the above genealogy. I have accordingly noted the approximate periods of various kings. As we know from the Rāmāthirtham plates that Indrabhattārakavarman reigned at least for 27 years, we have to assign that period to him instead of 25 years. C. P. 12 of

of Mandasarma. This Mandasarma was very much attached to (*bhakta*) Maṅgiyavarāja. If the grandson donee (Mandasarma) lived at the time of the great-grandson donor (Maṅgiyavarāja), it is impossible that the grandfather donee (Agnisarma) could have lived prior to the time of the great-grandfather (Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana) of the second donor. It is thus clear that Mādhavavarman the donor of the C. P. No. 11 of 1919-20 is the same person as the Mādhavavarman of our grant. Besides the father of Mādhavavarman in both the grants is Gōvindavarman. There is reference to the woman of the palace in Trivaranagara in both the plates. Both the kings are said to have been born out of the golden womb (of a golden cow): both had performed thousand sacrifices and eleven horse sacrifices. It is thus beyond doubt that the kings described in both these plates are one and the same person.

1919-20 tells us that it was issued 'in the 37th year of the victorious reign.' Hence this period has been allotted to Mādhavavarman II. The kings of this line seem to have enjoyed long reigns and our average of 25 years per generation cannot therefore be an exaggerated one.

Mādhavavarma I, who may be taken as the **founder**

The founder of the of this line of kings, must have ruled
dynasty. according to our calculation from circa

357-382. This period ³³ falls in the reigns of Samudragupta the Great (326-375) and of his son Chandragupta II (375-413). Of the Vākātakas,³⁴ Rudrasēna II and Pravarasēna II were the contemporaries of Mādhavavarma I. Now we must remember that the Vākātaka kings were connected by marriage with both, the Imperial Guptas and the Vishnukundins. Prabhāvatī Gupta, daughter of Chandragupta II was the wife ³⁵ of Vākātaka Rudrasēna II and the mother of Pravarasēna II. From the Chikkula plates it is clear that Mādhavavarma II, that is the grandson of Mādhavavarma I, had a Vākātaka princess for his wife, because his son Vikramēndravarma I is described as 'one who adorned both the Vākātaka and Vishnukundin families'! It is not improbable that Mādhavavarma I and his son Dēvavarma were also related to the Vākātakas though it was not perhaps a close alliance. Anyhow, it is evident that the Vishnukundins owe their rise to their connection with the Guptas and the Vākātakas. I am inclined to believe that Mādhavavarma I was first a general in the service of the Guptas or the Vākātakas and came into prominence by his valour. It is no wonder if he

³³ I take the dates of the Guptas from Vincent Smith's *Early History*.

³⁴ Dates of the Vākātakas are taken from Smith's article in *J. R. A. S.* 1914, p. 328.

³⁵ Prof. Pathak's plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 268. These are recently edited and published. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 39.

was one of the generals who accompanied or a South Indian adventurer who joined Samudra Gupta in his South Indian campaign and one who was left as a governor of Kalinga by him. He must have been very young then, not more than twenty-five years old. For the first two generations, perhaps the kings of this dynasty did not assume the Imperial titles. I think it was Mādhavavarma II who first proclaimed his independence, after the Guptas had lost their hold on Kalinga and after the decline of the Vākātaka dynasty which began about the year 420, subsequent to the reign of Pravarasēna II. The Vākātaka dynasty of course continued up to the beginning of the sixth century, but we find them as rivals of the Vishṇukunḍins and not as their friends. Mādhavavarma II claims to be the lord of Trikūtamalaya,³⁶ Vākātaka Harisēna claims³⁷ to have conquered Kalinga, Trikūta and Āndhra.

The period when Mādhavavarma II proclaimed independence is important in the history of the Vākātakas, as Padmāvati Gupta, the daughter of Chandra Gupta II was then acting as a regent for her minor grandson, as disclosed to us by Mr. Pathak's grant.³⁸ It may be that Mādhavavarma II, seeing that a woman was at the head of the state affairs of the Vākātakas, proclaimed his independence and assumed the titles which an emperor alone could claim; or being a near relative of Padmāvati, perhaps husband of her daughter as will be presently shown, took advantage of her leniency towards him and became an independent king.

Let us now examine the titles of the Vishṇukunḍins indicative of supreme paramount sovereignty. It is

³⁶ C. P. No. 12 of 1919-20, Ep. R. (S.C.), 1920, p. 97.

³⁷ The Ajanta inscriptions of Harisēna, Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV, pp. 53, 124, 129.

³⁸ Poona plates of Vākātaka queen Prabhavati Gupta, Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 39.

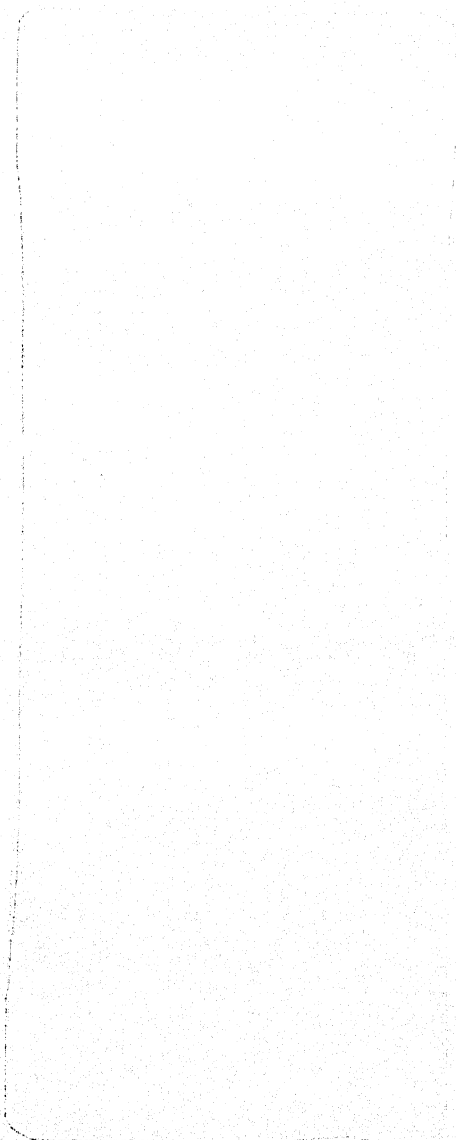
claimed for some of the kings that they performed thousand ordinary sacrifices and eleven horse-sacrifices ! But it is curious that this extraordinary distinction is reserved only for the kings who had the name of Mādhavavarma. The earliest record of the Vishṇukunḍins is the Īpur grant ³⁰ of Mādhavavarma II. In it he describes his grandfather Mādhavavarma I as one who had performed thousand *agnishtōma* sacrifices and eleven horse-sacrifices. Next in order of time comes the Rāma-thūrtam grant ⁴⁰ It honours Mādhavavarma II with epithets similar to those used in Īpur plates about Mādhavavarma I. Then the Chikkulla grant ⁴¹ credits Mādhavavarma II with having performed a number of great sacrifices "...*Mahā-rājā* Mādhavavarma, who washed off the stains of the world by his oblations after eleven *asvamedha* sacrifices, who celebrated thousands of sacrifices, who by a *sarvamēdha* sacrifice obtained the supreme dominion over all beings, who celebrated a hundred thousand *bahusuvārṇa*, *paundarīka puruṣhamēdha*, *vājapēya*, *yidhya*, *shōḍasin*, *rājasūya*, *prādhirāja prājāpaty* and various large and important sacrifices....." The two grants ⁴² of Mādhavavarma III claim for him and not for his ancestors, the credit of celebrating one thousand (ordinary) sacrifices and eleven horse-sacrifices. Other kings of the dynasty, who had not the fortune of being called Mādhavavarmas, are not credited with having performed any sacrifices. It cannot be explained why the family tradition made the celebration of horse-sacrifice, etc., the monopoly of Mādhavavarmas.

³⁰ Ep. R. (S.C.), C P. No. 12 of 1919-20.

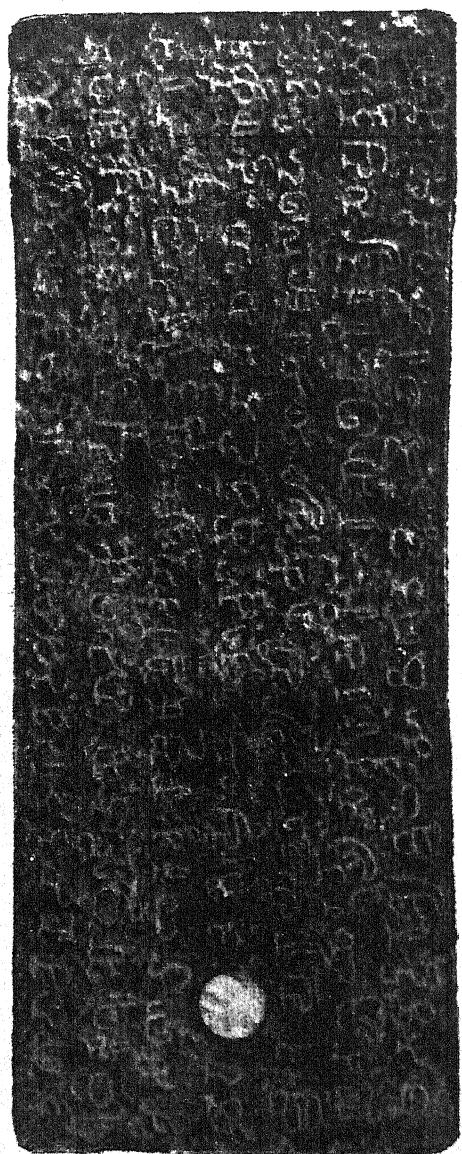
⁴⁰ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 133.

⁴¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 193.

⁴² The present Telugu Academy grant and C. P. No. 11 of 1919-20.



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III^a

Coming to the question of fact as to the actual celebration of these sacrifices, their very number is against the belief that they were ever actually celebrated. As for the source of these panegyric fictions and the grandiloquent epithets we must go to the inscriptions and grants of the Guptas and the Vākātakas—specially the latter.

The genesis of these titles.

It was Samudragupta the Great, that restored the *aswamēdha*-sacrifice which had been long in abeyance ⁴³ in the age of Kali. His grandson Kumāra Gupta also claimed to have celebrated a horse-sacrifice. These rulers who were certainly very powerful, were modest enough not to claim more than one horse-sacrifice. But when we turn to the Vākātakas the pretensions begin to swell. In the Chammak Copper-plate Inscription ⁴⁴ of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II it is said of Pravarasēna I that he had celebrated “the *agnishtōma*, *āptoryāma*, *ukhthya*, *shōdasin*, *atirātra*, *vājapēya* *brihaspatisava*, and *sadhya-skara* sacrifices and four *aswamēdha*-sacrifices” and his son Rudrasēna I is credited to have “performed ablutions after the celebration of ten *aswamēdha*-sacrifices.” Our Vishṇukunḍins who were the relations and rivals of the Vākātakas took their cue from them and wanted to proclaim in their inscriptions, their superior claims to the Imperial title. If Vākātaka Rudrasēna had celebrated ten horse-sacrifices, Vishṇukunḍin Mādhavavarma I had celebrated eleven horse-sacrifices. This in short seems to me to be the genesis of the horse-sacrifices of the Vishṇukunḍins and of their other boasted *birudas*. This also shows that the two dynasties though related to each other, were really rivals. In my opinion neither the Vākātakas nor the Vishṇukunḍins were so powerful a race of kings

⁴³ Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, No 10, p. 44, No. 12, p. 51, etc.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, No. 55, p. 235.

as to deserve any of the royal titles applied to them in their own grants. The Vākātakas were, of course, more powerful of the two, but even they were never in possession of an undisturbed and extensive kingdom which could be called an empire.⁴⁵

The Vishnukundins in all their grants describe themselves as those "who always meditate on the feet of the *Holy Lord of Sri-Parvata*." Sri-Parvata is the hill of Srīsaila on which there is the famous temple of God Śiva, called Mallikārjuna. The temple is situated on the northern plateau of the Nallamalai hills in Kurnool district (Madras Presidency). We have been all along connecting the Vishnukundins with the Vākātakas of the Central Provinces. How could then these kings that did not belong to the South, have adopted the God of Sri-Parvata as their tutelary deity? The reply to this question is twofold.

The Vākātakas were originally a South Indian race. We have a *Prakrit* inscription ⁴⁶ at Amarāvati, which commemorates a gift of a Vākātaka house-holder and his wife (*Vākātaka gahapati, gahapatini*). So in the first or the second century of the Christian era there was a clan of the Vākātakas in the Telugu country, or at least they were in the habit of visiting it. It is from this tribe that the future Vākātaka kings arose. We can therefore infer that the Vishnukundins also, who were related to the Vākātakas, belonged to Southern India.

Even supposing that the Vishnukundins were purely northerners, they must have adopted the Holy God of Sri-Parvata as their tutelary deity, after they had acquired the Telugu country. We know from their records that

⁴⁵ With all deference to Dr. Dubreuil, I have to differ from him in my estimate of the Vākātakas. For his opinion see his *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 71.

⁴⁶ See Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions, Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 267.

the Vishṇukunḍins were in possession of the Vēṅgi country very early. The Chikkulla plates were issued from Lendulūru near Ellore (Kistna District). Īpur plates of Mādhavavarma II were found in Guntur district and were issued from Amarapura. We may take this Amarapura to be the famous Amarāvati (Guntur District) of the Buddhist Stupa. I think Mādhavavarma II was the earliest Vishṇukunḍin who occupied Vēṅgi which was not far from Sṛi-Parvata⁴⁷ and it was he who first introduced the cult of the Holy God of Sṛi-Parvata into his family. His Īpur plates support my theory. While in all other records of this family the very first king that is mentioned is said to 'meditate on the feet of the Holy Lord of Sṛi-Parvata' the Īpur plates do not apply this epithet either to Mādhavavarma I, the first king mentioned in it or to the second king Dēvavarma, but to the third king and the donor Mādhavavarma II. I therefore think that at the time of Mādhavavarma I who was the founder of this dynasty and his son Dēvavarma, the Holy God of Sṛi-Parvata was not the tutelary deity of this family. This God was introduced into the family about 400 A.D. by Mādhavavarma II who was the husband of a Vakātaka princess.

Now let us see if we can connect the Vishṇukunḍins with a tradition coming down from
 A tradition. centuries about the God of Sṛi-Parvata.⁴⁸

There is a tradition given in a report⁴⁹ on Epigraphy (S.C.) from a *Sthalamāhātmya* that "the Princess Chandrāvati, daughter of the Gupta king Chandragupta, conceived a passion for the God on the Śṛisaila hill and began offering

⁴⁷ Śṛisaila is not more than 50 miles away from the confines of Guntur district which we know was occupied by the Vishṇukunḍins. Vinukonda is the chief place of a taluk of that name and a railway station in Guntur district, which is even to-day a rendezvous for pilgrims who go to visit Śṛisaila on *Mahāsivarātri* day.

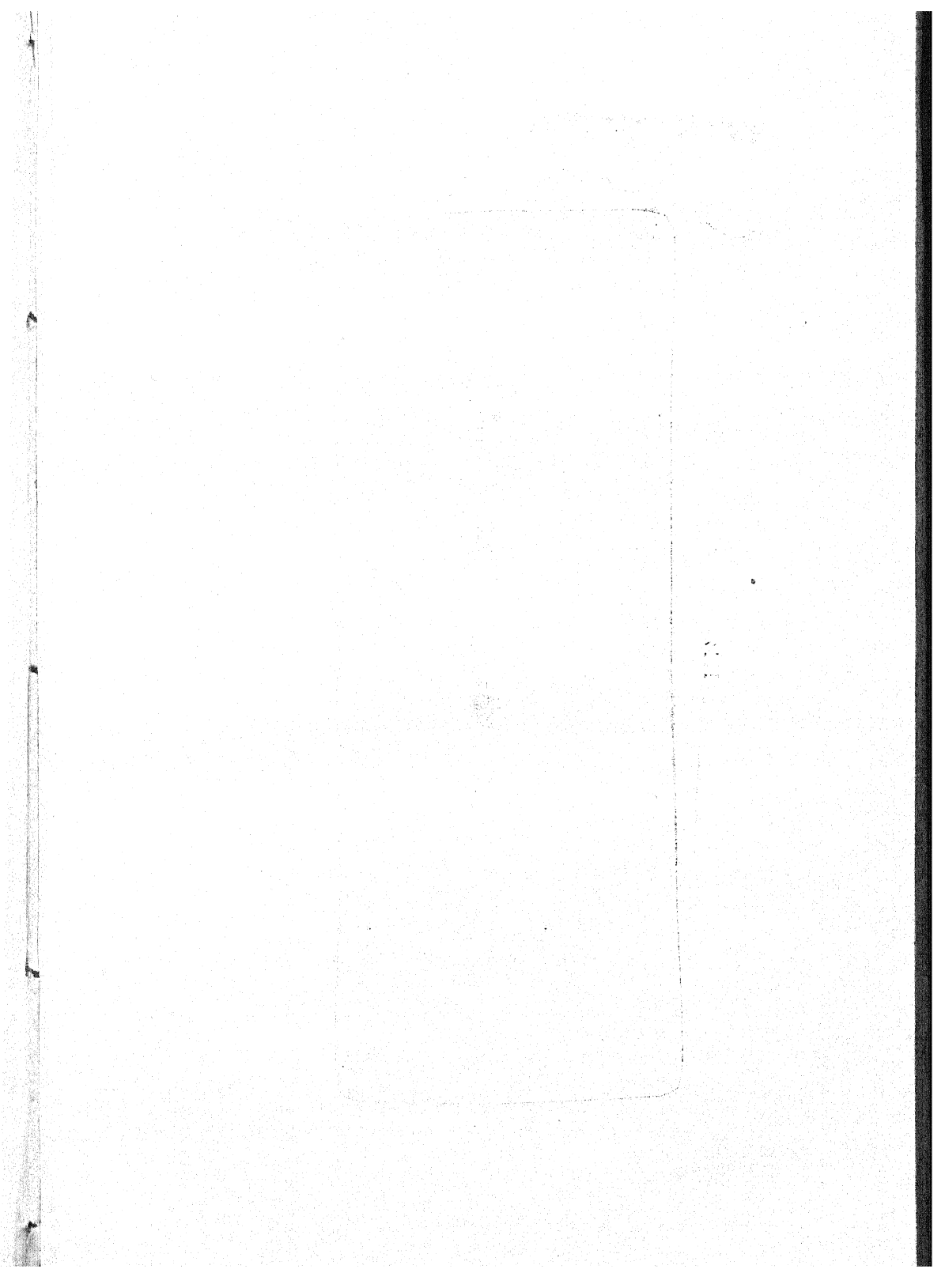
⁴⁸ It was Dr. Dubreuil who first suggested this connection in his *Ancient History of the Deccan* (p. 73) and all credit is due to him for this ingenious guess.

⁴⁹ For 1914-15, p. 91.

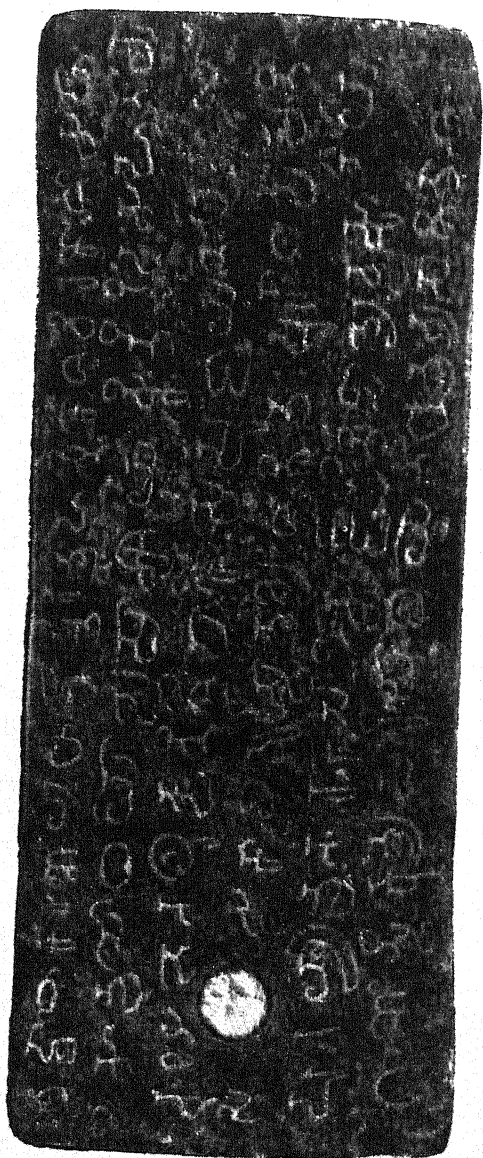
every day a garland of jasmine (*mallikā*) flowers to him and eventually married him." We cannot be sure about the dates of these *Sthalamāhātmyams*; some of them are only one generation old. I was therefore glad to find a reference to this tradition in a Telugu poem⁵⁰ of the 13th century. It is stated there that "a princess called Chandrāvati, daughter of Chandragupta of the Lunar line, once went to see the God of Śrī-Parvata and with a devotion for him was offering him a garland of jasmine flowers every day along with her female attendants. One day she began to sing the holy hymns of the God who was pleased with her sweet and celestial voice. He appeared to her in person and asked her what she wanted. She requested him to wear permanently the jasmine-garland (*mallikā-dāma*) offered by her, which he did by giving a permanent place to that garland on his head between the Ganges and the moon. As the *mallikā* garland was white (*arjuna*) the god was thence called Mallikārjuna.⁵¹" As this tradition was supposed to be very ancient (*ādimayuga*) even in the thirteenth century, we can take it to be at least eight or nine centuries old then. Now in the above story, if a slight change is allowed, by calling Chandrāvati the grand-daughter of Chandragupta, instead of describing her as his daughter, it will have a bearing on the history of the Viṣṇukunḍins. And it is but natural that a grand-daughter should be named after the grandfather,

⁵⁰ *Panditārādhyā-Charitram* by Pālakuriki Sōmanatha. This poet knew many languages and is considered as a Telugu and Canarese poet. His date is given as circa 1200, both in the *Biographies of the Canarese Poets* (*Kannada Kavi-Charite*) by Mr. Narasimha Chariar and the *Lives of Telugu Poets* by Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam. This story is found in the *Parvata Prakaraṇa* of the poem (p. 326, Warangal edition). This Telugu work was translated into Sanskrit in the 15th century by a poet called Gururāja. Those who cannot refer to the Telugu original may read the tradition in this Sanskrit translation. (Mysore edition with Canarese translation, 1921. (*Parvataprakarana*, 4th Adhyaya, vv. 18-31.)

⁵¹ It is significant that Chandrāvati is not represented here as having married Mallikārjuna. Apparently that did not form part of the original tradition.



III



rather than a daughter should be named after her father. Next, we know that Padmāvati, wife of Vākātaka Rudrasēna II, was the daughter of Chandra Gupta II (375-413 A.D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. We should also remember that Vishṇukunḍin Mādhavavarma II to whom we have assigned the period of 407-444 A.D., had married a Vākātaka princess. Who could this princess be? Padmāvati and her daughter were certainly his contemporaries and therefore we can safely presume that Mādhavavarma II married the daughter of Padmāvati and the grand-daughter of Chandragupta II who was called Chandrāvati⁵² after him. Mādhavavarma II must have become the worshipper of Mallikārjuna of Śrīparvata through the influence of this Vākātaka queen. Even supposing that Chandrāvati was the daughter of Chandragupta as found in the tradition, we shall have to take it that Mādhavavarma's father Gōvindavarma was her husband and that Mādhavavarma II was attracted to the god of Śrī-Parvata by his mother.

Nothing is definitely known as to the origin of the word Vishṇukunḍin. This seems to be an adpatation in Sanskrit of a vernacular name of a South Indian tribe. It is not improbable that the Telugu word Vinukonḍa⁵³ might have been Sanskritised into Vishṇukunḍa by pedants to tickle the vanity of a ruling dynasty. Vishṇu is a technical name for a particular sacrificial fire⁵⁴ and perhaps the Vishṇukunḍins claimed to have been born out of an altar called the Vishṇukunḍa. In that case they

Origin of the word
Vishṇukunḍin.

⁵² The word 'Chandra' in Chandra Gupta is the real name or as we should call it to use a western term the Christian name of the king and similarly 'Chandra in Chandrāvati is the real name and 'āvati' is a feminine suffix.

⁵³ Vinukonḍa is a town in Guntur district, a place from which pilgrims start for Śrī-Parvata. Dr. Hultsz who edited the Chikkulla plates suggested this connection.

⁵⁴ *Mahābhārata* (Krishnamachari's edition) *Vanaparva*, Adh. 223, v. 12.

would be *agnikula-kshatriyas*. That there were some Vishnukundins, who did not belong to the line of kings is clear from the Īpur plates of Mādhavavarma II in which *Vishnukundyadhirājagunavantau* (विष्णुकुण्डाधिराजगुणवन्तौ) are given as the executors. Apparently Adhirāja and Gunavanta are two proper names and both those persons belonged to the family of Vishnukundins. It is necessary here to remember that the Vākātakas who were related to the Vishnukundins belong to the *gotra* of Vishnuvridhha.⁵⁵ This *gotra* is a scion of the *Angirasa gōtra*. Perhaps Vishnukundi was the *gōtra* of the kings who, just like Śalankāyanas who adopted a *gōtra* as their surname, adopted it as their family name. But I have not been able to trace this *gōtra* in any *Pravarakāṇḍa*.

A person is mentioned generally in every copper plate inscription as an *ājñapti*. It is usual to translate this word as the executor. The two executors. It was perhaps intended that the person so named was responsible for the proper execution and protection of the donation. In this grant the *ājñaptis* named are Hastikōśa and Virakōśa. What the exact meaning of these words is, there is no means to ascertain. That these are not the proper names of some persons is clear from the fact that we find these names in the Godavari plates of Prithwimūla⁵⁶ and the Telegu Academy plates⁵⁷ of Jayasimha I. Dr. Fleet who edited the Godavari plates of Prithwimūla thought that "these were two officials who evidently kept the purses and made disbursements on account of respectively the establishments of elephants

⁵⁵ Seoni plates of Maharaja Vākātaka Pravarasena, 1. 2 (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 245) and other inscriptions of the same king. I find in Raghunath Bhasker Godbole's *Bharata Khandāchā-prāchīna-Aithihāsika-Kosa* (Marathi) that Vishnuvridhha was first a *Kshatriya*, then became a Brahmin.

⁵⁶ J. Bo. B. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 116 (ll. 26-27) स सर्वे रेव परिपालनीयो विजेषण इति कोश वीरकोशाभ्यां.

⁵⁷ Given in Appendix A to this article, see l. 222.

and heroes, who were to be renowned for deeds of valour." But in ll. 33-34 these are called *ubhayaganau* the two troops. So these cannot be taken as only individuals at the head of an army. *Gana* in Sanskrit has a technical meaning. It means a body of troops consisting of 27 chariots, 27 elephants, 81 horses and 135 foot (*Vāchsapatya*). We are therefore to interpret *hastikōśa* as the group of heroes of the elephant troops and *Virakōśa* as the foot soldiers. Of the traditional *Chaturangasēna* of the Hindus, only the foot soldiers and the elephant troops seem to be the fighting force of the kings in the medieval period. Chariots seem to have dropped out of the army at a much earlier period. Horses were rare and were used only by the people of the West. Kalinga seems to be very famous for the elephant armies.⁵⁸ And in the Prithwimūla's⁵⁹ grant we hear of the fight of kings seated on the elephants Kumuda (the elephant of the S. W. quarter) and Supratika (the elephant of the N. E. quarter). The Rāmāthīrtham plates⁶⁰ tell us that Indrabhattāarakavarman, the great-grand-father of Mādhavavarma III "encountered in hundred thousands of battles numerous four-tusked elephants (*chaturdanta*)."
We can therefore infer that the Vishṇukunḍins, who had raided the Kalinga country several times and had occupied it from time to time had a considerable army of elephants coming from Kalinga. And perhaps the permanent camp of these armies was in the Guddavāda *vishaya*, the present Ramachandrapur Taluk of the Godavari district.

Leaving epigraphy alone and coming to tradition we find many stories about Mādhavavarma current in the Telugu country from generation to generation. Local

⁵⁸ In Raghuvamśa IV. 40 the King of Kalinga is called गजसाधनः and it is well known that the kings of the country were called Gajapatis.

⁵⁹ J. Bo. B. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 116.

⁶⁰ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 133.

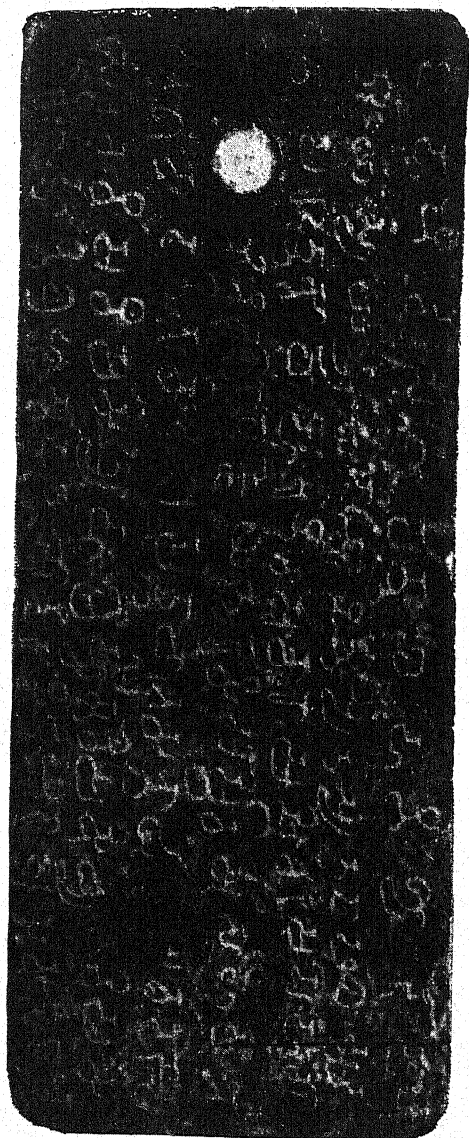
*kyfiats*⁶¹ collected by Col. Mackenzie and the Telugu poems called *Siddhēswara-Charitramu* and *Sōmadīvarājeeyamu*⁶² written in the traditions about Mādhavavarma, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mention a Mādhavavarma who was the progenitor of the kings of Hanumukonda in the Nizam's dominions, adjacent to Waraṅgal, who ruled there before the rise of the historical Kākatiyas. The father of this king was Sōmadēvarāja and hence we cannot identify him with either the second or the third of our Mādhavavarmas. He may be the same as Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavarvama I, whose father's name we do not know. Hanumukonda Mādhavavarma is said to have ruled for one hundred and sixty years from S. S. 230-390 (308-468 A. D.). Of course the period of one hundred and sixty years for one king is an exaggeration, but it is significant that our Mādhavarvama I belongs to this period according to the dates fixed by us.

There is a stone inscription⁶³ in the courtyard of the Malleswara Swami temple at Bezwada of the period of the Kākatiyas (13th century), which gives an interesting anecdote about Mādhavavarma, a king of Bezwada. "In the Kali age, again, as early as the Śaka year 117, there was a king famous on earth by name Mādhavarvarman. The son of this king having killed a child of the woman, who eked out her livelihood by selling shoots of the tamarind tree (*tintrini-jivini*) the king sentenced him to be hanged in order to meet the ends of the justice. On seeing this, God Mallēswara was pleased and rained [on him] a shower of gold which brought back to life the deceased prince and the dead body of the beggar woman.

⁶¹ See the *Kyfiayat* called *Ekāśīlānagara-vrittantāmu*.

⁶² *Siddheswara Charitramu* is by Kācha Sarvappa. It is a very rare MS. *Sōmadēvarājeeyamu* is by Koochimanchi Timmakavi.

⁶³ Stone inscription No. 536 of 1909, Ep. R., S. C.



Thus the god Mallêswara established in this world the fame of that great king (Mādhavavarman)."^{63a}

A certain Basavarāja son of Tammarāja who lived in the middle of the fifteenth century and was a commander under the Gajapatis of Orissa, claims to be the descendant of Mādhavavarma in two Telugu poems⁶⁴ of that period, which were dedicated to the minister of the said Basavarāja.

There is an inscription⁶⁵ dated S. S. 1440 (1518 A.D.) at Bezwada on a broken pillar, in front of the Kanakadurgā shrine on the Indrakīla hill, in which a general of Krishṇarāya the Great of Vijayanagar claims to be a descendant of Mādhavavarma of Bezwada.

The Mahārāja of the Vizianagaram Zamindari in the Vizagapatam district and many other persons belonging to a caste called *Rāzus* or *Rāchavārs* in the Telugu country, claim Mādhavavarma as their progenitor. The District Manual of Vizagapatam⁶⁶ has the following note about this. "In a poem called '*Sri Kṛṣṇa-vijayam*' the date of which is assigned to A.D. 1540, we are told, an immigration into Telingana of four Rajaput tribes, the *Vāsishṭa*, *Dhanuñjaya*, *Kaundinya* and *Kāśyapa* under the leadership of one Mādhavavarma, in the five hundred and fourteenth year of the Śalivāhana era, corresponding to A.D. 591. This Mādhavavarma is claimed by the Vizianagaram family as their ancestor, and it is certain that all the Rāchavārs of the Northern Circars look up to the Mahārajah of Vizianagaram as their head. The Rajaput colonists settled at Bezwada on the Kishṇa,

^{63a} Ep. Reports (S.C) 1910 pp. 71-72.

⁶⁴ (1) *Nāchikētopākhyanamu* by Daggupalli Duggayya (2) *Prabōdhachandrōdayamu* by Nandimallaya and Ghanta Sūngayya, poets who were also the joint authors of a poem called *Varāhapurāṇamu* dedicated to the father of Krishnadēvarāya.

⁶⁵ Stone inscription No. 329 of 1892.

⁶⁶ P. 277.

forming in course of time a petty principality." Of course not much reliance can be placed upon the date of *Ś.Ś.* 514 given in a poem of the sixteenth century, *i.e.*, in a poem written nearly one thousand years after Mādhavavarma. But that the year assigned in this poem to Mādhavavarma should almost correspond with the year 594 A.D. which we have assigned to Mādhavavarma III is noteworthy.

TEXT ¹

I

- १ स्वसि भगवत् श्रीपर्वतस्त्रासिपादानुध्यातस्य ^२विष्णुकु[खिडनोऽ]प्-
 २ तिहृतशासनस्य स्वप्रतापाप(पोप)नतसामन्तमनुजपतिमण्डलस्य
 ३ विरहितरिपुषङ्गस्य विधि[व]दुपचितविवर्गस्य विबुधपतिसङ्घा-
 ४ शरवीरविभववलपराक्रमस्य श्रीविक्र(म)महेन्द्रस्य सूनो(ः) अनेक-
 ५ समर^३संघट्टविजयिनः परनरपतिमसुटमणिमयूरवावदातच-
 ६ [र]णयुगळस्य विक्रमाश्रयस्य श्रीगोविन्दवर्मणः प्रयतनयः^४ अतुल-
 ७ [व]लपराक्रमयशोदानविनयसंपन्नी^५ "दशशतसकलधरणीतलनर-

II

- ८ पतिरवसि[त'विस्त्री]धदिव्यविवरनगरभवनगतपरमयुवतीजनवि-
 ९ ह्वरणरति^६रन्नन्यवृपतिसाधारणदानमानदयादर्मे^७धृति-
 १० मतिचान्तिकान्तिश्री^{१०}रियोदार्थ्यगांभीर्यप्रभृत्यनेकगुणसंप-
 ११ ज्जितरयससुस्थितभूमण्डलव्यापिविपुल्यशोः(शाः)क्रतुसा-
 १२ हस्त्रयाजौ हिरण्यगर्भप्रसूतः एकादशाश्वमेधावष्टतस्त्रानवि-
 १३ गतजगदेनस्कः सर्वभूतपरिरक्षणचुक्षुः विहङ्गिजगुरुत्रि^{११}-
 १४ ज्ञतपस्त्रिजनाश्रयो महाराजः श्रीमाधववर्मा[।]अपिच[।]नियमा^{१२}

¹ From the originals.

² Read विष्णुकुखिडनो. Of the 4th letter खि, ड is visible below and a portion of ण is faint.

³ The Anusvāra is on च.

⁴ Read प्रियतनयः.

⁵ Read सन्पद्नी Anusvāras are placed on प and नो; नो is broken a little below, so that we are not sure if it was न्नी originally.

⁶ Read वंशगत. As श and ग are similar in form except a small line in ग, and hence the engraver must have made this mistake.

⁷ त is hopelessly disfigured but वि वि can be recognised.

⁸ Read रन्नय.

⁹ Read धर्म.

¹⁰ Read शौर्योदार्थ.

¹¹ Read वङ्ग.

¹² Read नयमौशनसं. The first and second letters are distinctly नि and य; the third is मे with some portion of it disfigured; it may be originally मै; the fourth letter is ग, but in this alphabet, ग and श are exactly similar except a small horizontal line in श. Therefore thinking नि and श as the mistakes by the writer, I correct the whole as shewn.

IIa

- १५ गनसं सत्वं कै(शै)शवं कान्तिसैन्दवीं [।] उद्धृद्गुभा[] भाति विक्रमादा-
 १६ मभूरिभूः[।] अथ्यसौ महीतलवृपतिभास्करः परमत्रन्नख्यो
 १७ मातापि^{१५} तुपादातुध्यातः जनाश्रयमहाराजः गुह्य(द्)व(वा)दिविष-
 १८ ये (ये) विषयमहत्तरानधिकारपुरुषांश्च इममई(थं) माज्ञाप-
 १९ यत्य(ति) । अ[स्ति] ।] विदितमस्तु वो य[द्] अस्माभिः गुह्यवादिविषये दक्षिण-
 २० वावितरी पुलु बूहनामयामः मयिन्दवाठकिदक्षिणतः[] सी-
 २१ माने च^{१६} तुर्निर्वर्त्तनञ्च जेतं युगपत्संप्र[द]त्त[] ।] प्रादिक्[] जिगीषयाप्र^{१७} भि-

III

- २२ तः गोदाव^{१८} रीमतीतरन् वेदवेदांगविदो रुद्रशर्मस्थो नप्वे स्व[पितु]
 २३ रधिकगुणाध्यासित[त]नोः दामशर्मणः पुत्राय शिवशर्मणे गौत-
 २४ मसगोत्राय कर्मराष्ट्रकुलदूरवास्तव्याय तैत्तिरिकसन्नज्ञचारिणे
 २५ वेदचतुष्टयसमाप्तातावदाननाय स्वकर्मभानु-
 २६ छानपराय फाल्गुण्य(न)पौर्त्र^{१७} मास्यां सोमराहुसयहनिमित्ते
 २७ जनाश्रयदत्त्या सर्व्वकरपरिहारेणायहारिकृत्य संप्र[द]त्तः[] त-
 २८ था भवद्भिरत्रैश्च धर्माधिगत^{१९} बुद्धिभिः परिपालनीयः[] न के-

IIIa

- २९ शिवाधा करणीया[] आज्ञमिरवरत्न हस्तिकोशवीरकोशी[]^{१८} महा-
 ३० मावयोधयोः । तेषां^{२०} अयस्त्वौतिरिदं महत्[] ये-
 ३१ न लोभिनलुम्पन्ति श्रपाकास्तेषुजायते^{२१} [] अन्यथा-
 ३२ समका जेतुं सातव्यं शक्तिः पुरा[] उपेक्षति
 ३३ पुनर्यच्च नरके स निमज्जति[] इत्येवमुभय-
 ३४ गणौ(पा)स्वीकृत्य परिपालयेत्[] अत्र व्य^{२२} सगीता शो^{२३} का[]

^{१५} Read पितृ.

^{१६} Read चतुर्निर्वर्त्तनञ्च.

^{१७} Read प्रस्थि.

^{१८} The letter री in गोदावरौ looks rather like र.

^{१९} Read पौर्ष.

^{२०} Read धर्माधिगतबुद्धिभिः.

^{२१} Here begins an *anushtup* verse. But there is one syllable in excess in the first foot. If महाभाच is changed into माभाच it will suit the metre. But this form is not found in any lexicon.

^{२२} Read श्रेयःकीर्ति.

^{२३} This ought to be जायन्ते but the metre does not allow it.

^{२४} Read व्यासगीता.

^{२५} Read शोका.

IV

- ३५ बहुभिर्ब्रह्मसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालि-
 ३६ ता[।] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं[॥] खद-
 ३७ तां परदत्ता^{३३} स्वा यो हरेति (त) वसुध्वरा[।] षष्ठि^{३४} वरुषसहस्रा-
 ३८ णि विष्टायान्नायते क्लमि[।] षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि
 ३९ स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः[।] आचिन्ता^{३५} चानुमन्ताच तान् (दि) व न[र] कं व-
 ४० सेत[।] न विष^{३६} विषमित्याहुः ब्रह्मस्व^{३७} विषमुच्यते[।] विषसे-
 ४१ काकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रिकं[॥] विजयराज्यसवत्सरे ४८ [।]

Translation.

Ll. 1-4 Hail. [There was a king called] *Srī Vikramahēndra*¹ of the *Vishnukundin* family who meditated on the feet of the glorious lord of *Srī Parvata*, who ruled without a rival (or whose command was implicitly obeyed by all), who by means of his prowess made the circle of his subordinate kings bow to him, who got rid of the six enemies² (of mankind), who has fully attained the three objects of life³ by following the injunctions [of dharma] and who possessed the best arms, warriors, magnificence, strength and heroism, which the lord of gods (Indra) alone could possess.

Ll. 4-6. His son was *Srī Gōvindavarma* who was victorious in personal encounters in many a battle, whose two feet were made beautiful by the brightness of the gems in the crowns of his enemy kings and who was endowed with heroism.

Ll. 6-14. His dear son is *Mahārāja Śrī Mādhavavarma*, who possesses immeasurable strength, heroism, glory, charitable disposition and modesty, who has subdued all the rulers on the surface of the earth, who is the abode of the various divine qualities, who is fond of the best women living in the palace of the city of Trivara.⁴ His virtues, such as charity, reverence, kindness, piety, constancy, intelligence, forbearance, heroism, magnanimity, profundity of character, etc., which are not to be found in any other king, gave birth to his extensive fame, which rose high swiftly and spread throughout the whole world. He who has performed thousand sacrifices, who is born out of golden womb⁵ (of a cow), who has washed off the sin of the whole earth by the final baths after performing eleven horse-sacrifices; who is ready to protect all the creatures on the earth is a shelter to the learned, the twice born, the preceptors, the old and the ascetics.

^{३३} Read परदत्ता वा.

^{३४} Read वर्ष.

^{३५} Read आचिन्ता.

^{३६} The *anusvara* is placed not on ष but the next letter वि.

^{३७} The *anusvara* is placed not in स्व but on the next letter वि.

Ll. 14-16. Endowed with, political wisdom as taught by **Uśanasa**^a (Śukra), **Kēśava's** (extraordinary) strength, and the loveliness of the moon he shines with increased lustre, having through his valour conquered an extensive kingdom.^c

Ll. 16-19. This **Janāśraya**^a *Mahārājā*, who is like the sun among the kings, who meditates on the feet of his parents and who is a great devotee of Brahmins, orders thus, the important people and the government officials in the district of **Guddavādi**.

Ll. 19-27. Be it known to you that we, having crossed the **Gōdāvāri** with a desire to conquer the eastern quarter, have given as a charity of Janāśraya the village called Pulumbūru on the banks of Daliyavāvi, together with a field measuring four *nīvartanas* situated at the end of the southern boundary of **Maindavātaki**, forming [the whole] into an *agrahāra* free of all taxes, on the full moon day in the month of *Phālguna* on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, to **Śiva-Śarma** of *Goutama-gōtra*, resident of **Kundūru** in **Kammarāshtra**, a *brahmachārīn* (bachelor) of the *Taittirīya* recension, one whose mouth was made pure by the learning of the four *Vēdās*, one who is devoted to the performance of rituals enjoined to him (by *śāstras*) son of **Dāmasarma**, one who possessed a body in which dwelt greater virtues than those which his father possessed and the grandson of **Rudrasarma** who knew *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*.

Ll. 28-29. Therefore you and others who have faith in *dharma* should protect this; none should cause any trouble, The executors of this (*dharma*) shall be (the warriors of) the elephant battalion (**Hastikōśa**) and the infantry (**Vīrakōśa**).

Ll. 29-31. This (charity) is the great fortune and fame of the warriors of the elephant-troop and the infantry. One who swerves (from his duty) through greediness will be born among the *Svapākas*.^a

Ll. 31-35. The unjust act must be put down almost simultaneously with its inception. He who neglects it will go to hell. These two groups (of warriors) shall accept the protection of the charity (with these conditions) and shall protect it. These are *ślokās* sung by Vyāsa (in this connection) :—

Ll. 35-36. Many have given land and many have ruled it. The merit of charity goes to him who chances to be the king for the time being.

Ll. 36-38. He who resumes the land given by himself or by others becomes a worm in the dung and lives in it for sixty thousand years.

Ll. 38-40. The giver of the land enjoys the heaven for sixty thousand years. One who objects to it (charity) and the one who supports that objection live in the hell for the same period. Poison is not the real poison but the property of Brahmin is the true poison. Poison kills only one man while the property of a Brahmin kills the son and the grandson.

L. 41. In the 48th year of the victorious reign.

APPENDIX A

The transcript¹ of the Telugu Academy plates of Jayasimha I
638 A.D.

I

- १ स्वస్తి యోవిజయస్కమ్భావారాత్ మాతగణపరిరచితానాం మానవ్యసమీక్షాణాం
- २ హరితీపుష్పాణామ్ అశ్వమేధయాజ్ఞినాం చక్రుక్యానాం కులజలనిధి-
- ३ సమృద్ధరాజరత్నస్య సకలభువనమణ్డలమణ్డితకీర్తిః శ్రీ-
- ४ కీర్తివర్ధనః పౌత్రః అనేకసమరసంఘట్టవిజయినః పరనర-
- ५ పతిమక్రృతమణిమయ[ర]వావదాతచరణయ్యుగలస్య శ్రీవిశ్ణువర్ధన-
- ६ మహారాజస్య మిత్రతనయః ప్రవర్ణమానప్రతాపీపనతసమన్-

II

- ౭ సామన్తమణ్డలః స్వబాహువలపరాక్ర[మో]పాజ్ఞితసక[ల]యశో-
- ౮ విభాసితదిగంతరః స్వశక్తిచయిత్రయ్యలావభిన్నపరనరపతి-
- ౯ సకలవలచేతనః బ్రహ్మస్థితిరివ నయశ్చో మనూరివ వినయ-
- ౧౦ జ్ఞః యుధిష్ఠిర ఇవ ధర్మపరాయణః అర్జునవదపరనర-
- ౧౧ పతిభిరనభిలషితపౌరుషః అనేకశాస్త్రా(ర్థ)తత్వజ్ఞఃపర-
- ౧౨ మన్తరత్నగ్ధో మాతాపితృపాదానుధ్యాతః శ్రీమి(ప్ర)థివీజయస్సిద్ధ(వ)-

IIa

- ౧౩ జ్ఞానమహారాజః గుహ్వాదివిషయే విషయమహత్త[రా]నధికా[ర]పు-
- ౧౪ కృపాంశు ఇమమర్థసాక్షాపయత్(తి) అ[స్తి]విదితమస్తు వో య[ద]స్మాంభిః
- ౧౫ గుహ్వాదివిషయే పుల్కు'వూరనామయామః వేదవేదాంగ-
- ౧౬ విదో దామశర్మణః పౌత్రాః స్వపితృధికగుణగణాధి-
- ౧౭ వాసస్య శివశర్మణః పుత్రాః తేజ్జిరికసన్త్రజ్ఞాచారిణివేద-
- ౧౮ దయాల్కృతశరీరాః గౌతమసగోచారైః స్వకర్మానుష్ఠాన-

¹ From the originals now deposited in the Mesuem of the Telugu Academy, Madras. These plates were found buried along with the Telugu Academy plates of Madhavavarma III.

² This numeral is doubtful.

III

- १९ पराय पूर्व्यागहारिकरुद्रशर्म्भे असनपुरस्थानवस्तव्याय
 २० श्रीसर्वसिद्धिदत्ता सर्वकरपरिहारेण्यगहाराक्रान्त्य समस्तः
 २१ तथा भवद्विरनैश्च धर्माधिगतबुद्धिभिः परिपालनीयः
 २२ न कैश्चिदाधाकरणीया आज्ञतिरचहृदि कोशवौरकोशयोः
 २३ स गौताः [१*] बहुभिर्व्यसुधादत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [१] यरु यस्य
 २४ यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [१*] २॥ ५॥ गौ ऋ दि १००—*
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The Legend of Buddhaghosa¹

BY

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The figure of Buddhaghosa is an imposing one. The whole of the exegetical literature in Pāli is derived from him. The voluminous commentaries which are attributed to him form a considerable work, which is illuminated as by a central light, by his celebrated Buddhist Encyclopædia—the *Visuddhimagga*.^{1a} In Indo-China, he passes for the grand apostle who brought to those peoples the Treasure of the sacred books. Each country of the peninsula is a claimant: the Burmese make him a monk of Thatôn. Modern Cambodia places him at the beginning of its religious tradition and has kept his name as one of the most elevated titles of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Buddhaghosa is thus a high personality, if at all he had existed and if his genius does not appertain to that class of attributes which the Hindu logicians compare with the grace of the girl of a sterile woman.

¹ Translated from the French original published in the *Cinquantiennaire de L'École Pratique Des Hautes Etudes* by P. C. Bagchi, M.A., University Lecturer and Sir Rashbehary Ghose Travelling Fellow.

"The main object of my translating this article has been to present it before our students of Buddhism in a form accessible to them. The name of Buddhaghosa plays an important part in the history of Pāli literature and consequently any question on his historical reality is of vital importance. In this article M. Finot has questioned with good reasons on his side, the authenticity of some of the traditional accounts on the life of Buddhaghosa naively believed up till now. This is why I have thought it absolutely necessary to give a translation of this paper. M. Finot has very kindly gone through my translation and added some new notes to it."—P. C. B.—*Hanoï*, 20th December, 1922.

^{1a} Sumaṅgala-vil., p. 1;

Majjhe Visuddhimagga esa catuṇaṃ pi āgamānaṃ hi
tathā pakāsayissati tattha yathā-bhāsitaṃ atthaṃ.

His historical reality is in fact much controversial. It has its believers and unbelievers—some admit it in all simplicity,² others refuse it categorically³; and some others make their acquiescences of distinctions and reservations more or less extensive.⁴ The problem does not appear, at the actual hour, susceptible to a solution; but it will perhaps be possible to circumscribe it by precisising the sources of the tradition and controlling the probabilities of the facts with which each of these sources have composed the biography of Buddhaghosa.

1. THE SOURCES.

A. *The Burmese Sources.*—At first one has to eliminate radically the Burmese sources.⁵ The chronicles, either secular or ecclesiastic, are only an echo of Singhalese history, altered by an insatiable national vanity. As they make Buddha travel in the valley of the Irāwadi for predicting the foundation of diverse capitals, they substitute Thatôn for Magadha as the point of departure or of return in the voyage of Buddhaghosa to Ceylon.⁶ Not only is this tradition apocryphal, it is not even old—it cannot go back in any case further than the 16th century.

² Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 277; art. *Buddhaghosa* in Hastings Encyclopædia of Religion.

³ Vincent Smith, *Asoka's Alleged Mission to Pegu*, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 34 (1905), p. 185.

⁴ Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, II, 1, p. 152.—The better exposition of the question is that of Minayev, *Recherches sur le bouddhisme*, p. 190.

⁵ See the analysis of these texts in J. Gray, *Buddhaghosupatti*, London, 1892, Introduction.

⁶ The Singhalese version (Voyage from Magadha to Ceylon and return to Magadha) is otherwise recognisable in the fanciful retouches of the Burmese Chronicles. After the one, Buddhaghosa embarks at Bassein, but makes a long stay at Bodh-Gayā before sailing for Ceylon; according to the others, the moment he went to quit that island for returning to Majjhimadesa (Northern India), Indra, intervened for persuading him to bring the holy books to the Paccantadesa (Indo-China).

We have a decisive proof of it in the inscriptions of Kalyāṇi.⁷ These slabs erected in 1476 A. D. by King Dhammaceti (1460-1491) give a complete history of Buddhism in Pegu starting from the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika, contemporaries of Buddha, who built in Rangoon "the stûpa of hairs" (Shwe Dagon) till the mission of Moggallāna to Ceylon in 1475. If the belief in the introduction of the scriptures to Pegu by Buddhaghosa had existed at that time, the pious king would have, no doubt, reserved to it a place of honour in his abridgement of the history of the church. But he does not even mention the name of the great commentator: thus it follows that in his time no connexion had been yet established between Buddhaghosa and Thatôn.

B. *The Singhalese Sources.*—The Burmese Sources being out of question, we have now only to deal with the three texts which after all can enter into account, though in an unequal degree: The *Cūlavamsa* I, the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, and the *Buddhaghosuppati-kathā* or *Buddhaghosa-nidāna*.

1. *Cūlavamsa* I (CV).—The Singhalese chronicle, known under the name of *Mahāvamsa*⁸ is composed of a first redaction (*Mahāvamsa* proper) and of two continuations put together under the common title of *Cūlavamsa*, and which can be distinguished as *Cūlavamsa* I and *Cūlavamsa* II.

The original *Mahāvamsa* redacted by Mahānāma, probably at the beginning of the 6th century under the reign

⁷ Taw Sein Ko, the *Kalyāṇi Inscriptions erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 A.D.*, Text and translation. Rangoon, 1892.

⁸ G. Turnour, *The Mahāvamsa.....containing the first 38 Chapters*. Ceylon, 1837.—W. Geiger, the *Mahāvamsa*. London, 1908 (Pāli Text Society) [the text stops with the Chap. 37, verse 50].—*Id.*, the *Mahāvamsa.....translated into English*, London, 1912.—L. C. Wijesinha, *the Mahāvamsa, Part II, containing chapters XXXIX to C, translated...into English.....to which is prefixed the translation of the first part published in 1837 by George Turnour*, Colombo, 1889.

of Dhātusena,⁹ terminates with verse 50 of the 37th chapter with the reign of Mahāsena.

The *Cūḷavaṃsa* II stops with the death of the king Kittī Siri Rājasīha (1798), with a supplement which carries the account till the annexation of Ceylon by the English.

Between these two is placed *Cūḷavaṃsa* I, in which one finds the history of Buddhaghosa (ch. 37, vv. 165-195): first of all, we have to precise the date.

Its redaction is attributed to a certain Dhammakitti. This name has been borne by several reputed theras: Wickremasingha counts five of them¹⁰: the author of *Cūḷavaṃsa* I, according to him, was Dhammakitti II, a native of Tambaratṭha, who flourished under Parakkamabāhu II.¹¹ It is difficult to admit this attribution. It supposes in fact that the pretended author had spoken of himself in the following terms (ch. 84, vv. 11-16).

“Amidst the numerous and virtuous monks who sojourned constantly in Tambaratṭha, there was a Mahāthera named Dhammakitti, shining with the splendour of virtue. When he went out to beg for alms, sometimes a lotus would spring up on his footprints. Having heard of it with amazement, the King (Parakkamabāhu) sent to Tambaratṭha a spiritual present consisting of sandal powder and other substances which had touched the Tooth-relic, and besides a royal present of great value. He let

⁹ Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*. Strasbourg, 1916, p. 24.

¹⁰ Wickremasinghe, *The Several Pāli and Singhalese Authors known as Dhammakitti*. (J. R. A. S., 1896, p. 200.)

¹¹ This is also the opinion of Geiger (*Pāli Lit. u. spr.*, p. 30: “According to the tradition, the first continuator was the thera Dhammakitti who, according to Mahāv., ch. 34, vv. 12 sqq., came from Burmā to Ceylon under Parakkamabāhu II (1st half of the 13th cen.)” Tambaratṭha can be in fact the kingdom of Pagan (Bode, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, Introd., p. 14, n. 1; cf. B. E. F. E. O., V. 152, n. 3); however the country is called in another passage (ch. 80, v. 6) Arimaddana.

the Mahâthera come to Laṅkāḍīpa and considering him as an arhat, feeling an ever renewed joy, he made grand offerings to him and honoured respectfully with the presents of the four necessary things this therā so worthy of offerings and honour."

If one is reminded that pride (*Māna*), the love of self-advertisement (*Ketu kāmīyatā*) belong to the number of "chains" denounced by the Buddhist moral,¹² one finds it difficult to believe that this pompous eulogy of Dhammakitti had been written by himself: instead of his spiritual perfection, he would, for praising himself in such an unbecoming way, have proclaimed his indignity. It is more probable that the redactor of *Cūḷavaṃsa* I, if he in fact was called Dhammakitti, was merely homonymous with the thaumaturge of Tāmbarātṭha. But, to tell the truth, his personality is of a secondary interest; what is important for us is the date when he wrote. It is possible to determine it approximately.

Cūḷavaṃsa I finishes, as had been remarked already by Vijesimha (p. 319) and after him by Geiger (*Pāli Litt.*, p. 30) with the reign of Parakkamabāhu IV (ch. 90, v. 104). The duration of the reign of this king whose accession is placed in 1295 according to Vijesimha and in 1284 according to Geiger is not known. In any case the

¹² Cf. for example *Dhammasaṅgāṇī*, §1116. An anecdote of the *Buddhaghosupparī* shows well the esteem in which the Buddhist clergy held modesty. Buddhaghosa lived in the ground floor of the Lohapāsāda and six other monks occupied the six superior storeys. One day a layman offered to Buddhaghosa a basket of rice: "This is for him who is in the storey above and superior to me: offer your rice to him"—responded the therā. The layman went to present his offering to the therā of the second storey, who sent it again to that of the third and this followed till the 7th and the last, of which the occupant told him: "Buddhaghosa who lives below has better merits than ours: it is to him that it has to be given." He presented it therefore before Buddhaghosa, who divided the rice in seven equal parts for each of the seven monks.

final redaction of this continuation could not have been made prior to about 1300 A. D.

In short, the first document which makes mention of Buddhaghosa—if this man lived in the reign of Mahânâma in the 5th century¹³—is posterior to him by 800 years. The author, it may be said, utilised probably some ancient documents—but perhaps he did utilise some old legend. For the time being, let us retain this fact that at least eight centuries separate the hero from his biographer.

2. *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (SS).—This text is a story and a panegyric of the Tripiṭaka.¹⁴ It is the work of a certain Dhammakitti V, also called Dhammarakkhita and Jayabâhu Mahâthera, who was a disciple of Dhammakitti IV and his successor in the dignity of Saṅgharâja and lived in the reigns of Bhuvanekabâhu V and Vîrabâhu III (1372-1470). This attribution cannot be exact. Here is in fact, what we read at the end of the work :

“Dhammakitti, a monk of virtue and of talent, shone in the island of Ceylon as the moon in the sky. His disciple called Dhammakitti Mahâsâmi made efforts for proceeding to Ceylon. He arrived in that charming island, amassed there a great spiritual merit, was ordained as a thera, and then returned to his country, to the city of Yodaya....There, in the grand monastery Lankârâma, founded by King Paramarâja he composed this *Saddhammasaṅgaha*.”

¹³ Mahânâma: 412-434 according to Vijesimha; 458-480, according to Geiger (Mahāv. trad., p. xxxix). This latter date cannot be reconciled with the fact that the embassy of Ceylon to the Emperor of China in 428 was sent by Mo-ho-nan = Mahânâma (S. Lévi *Les Missions de Wang Hieun-ts'e dans l'Inde*, Journ. As., 1900, I, pp. 412, 421).

¹⁴ Edition in J. P. T. S., 1890. The SS is not cited in the Gandhavarîsa.

Yodaya, as remarked by M. George Cœdès,¹⁵ is no other than Ayodhyâ, capital of the Siamese kingdom founded in 1350. The name Paramarāja is unhappily too vague to permit an identification with any of the kings of Ayodhyâ. In any case, it is certain, that this foreign monk, who got back to his own country after having received the ordination, was not invested with the dignity of Saṅgharāja in Ceylon. He, therefore, must not be confounded with Dhammakitti V (Devarakkhita): perhaps this latter is the teacher praised in the colophon of the SS; in this case this work can be dated at about 1400.

The account which it gives of the life of Buddhaghosa (chap. VII, pp. 51-57) is based on CV, of which he cites the entire text under the title of *Porāṇā*; it is there mingled with other verses which seem to have been borrowed from another chronicle.

3. *Buddhaghosuppatti-kathā* (BU) or *Buddhaghosa-nidāna*.—This life of Buddhaghosa¹⁶ is the work of a Ceylonese thera named Mahāmaṅgala. He is assigned the date of 13th or 14th century, according to his identification with Maṅgala, teacher of Videha, author of the *Rasavāhinī*,¹⁷ or with the grammarian Maṅgala who belonged to the 14th century.¹⁸ What makes one inclined towards the more ancient date, is that BU seems to be completely independent of CV, to the difference of SS which cites it abundantly. However the only certain date is the *terminus a quo*: 1156 A. D.¹⁹

¹⁵ G. Cœdès, *Note sur les ouvrages pâlis composés en pays thai*, B. E. F. E. O., X, 3, p. 43.

¹⁶ Edition James Gray, London, 1892. Cited in the Gaudhavaṃsa (pp. 65, 75), under the title of "Buddhaghosâcariya-nidānam, without any mention of the author of the epoch.

¹⁷ Gray, *op. loc.*, p. 32.

¹⁸ Geiger, *Pāli Litt.*, pp. 31, 39.

¹⁹ This date is furnished by a citation of the *Jināṭṭarākara* of Buddhārakkhita or rather of the *ṭikā* composed on this poem by the author himself in 1156 A. D. (Gray, *Buddhaghosuppatti*, p. 50, 71; Geiger, p. 28.

II. THE FACTS.

1. *Cūlavamsa I*.—First of all, we give the account of *Cūlavamsa I* (chap. XXXVII, v. 165-175) which is generally regarded as more worthy of credence :

“A young Brāhmaṇa, born near the Bodhimanda, versed in all the sciences and all the arts, possessing the three Vedas, knowing completely all the religions, tried in all the systems, and a controversialist who had travelled over India in quest of controversies, had established himself in a Vihāra where, in the night, he repeated the doctrine of Patañjali in an achieved and perfect way. A mahāthera named Revata came to know that this person was of great judgment and worthy of being converted. ‘Who is that man braying like an ass?’ said he. The other rejoined : ‘You know without doubt, the meaning of the braying of asses?’—‘I know it?’ After that the Brāhmaṇa exposed his system. The therā gave the explanation and the refutation. Invited to expose in his turn his proper doctrine, he recited a text of the Abhidhamma. The Brāhmaṇa did not understand its meaning. ‘Of whom is this mantra?’ asked he.—‘It is the mantra of Buddha.’—‘Communicate it to me.’—‘First receive the ordination!’ Desirous of learning the mantra he got himself ordained a monk and learnt the Tripitaka. ‘This is indeed an unique way to salvation’—thought he and adopted it. As his voice (*ghosa*) was as deep as that of Buddha, he was named Buddhaghosa and he was renowned on the earth as Buddha himself.

Having composed the treatise *Ñānodāya*, he prepared the *Atthasālinī* (as) a girdle²⁰ to *Dhammasaṅgāhī*. Next this intelligent man took to write a commentary on the

²⁰ *Kacchaṇi*. Turnour : *Kaṇḍam*, “he wrote the chapter called *Atthasālinī*.”

Paritta.²¹ Having seen it, the thera Revata told him: 'It is only the text which has been brought here; the commentary does not exist here, as well as the diverse doctrines of the teachers cannot be found. The Singhalese commentary is genuine: the sage Mahinda, after having studied first the teaching of Buddha fixed in the three councils and the discourses of Sâriputta and other (disciples), has composed this commentary in the Singhalese language: it is found in Ceylon, go there, listen to it and translate it in the idiom of Magadha. This is a service to be rendered to the entire world.

Full of faith, Buddhaghosa with high hopes parted and went to that island during the reign of this king (Mahânâma). He went to Mahâvihâra, the convent of all the holy monks, entered the edifice called Mahâpadhâna and from the mouth of Saṅghapâla he heard entirely the Singhalese commentary and particular doctrines of the theras,²² and concluded that such had been indeed the intention of the Master of the Law (the Buddha).

Then, having offered his respects to the Saṅgha he said: "Give me all the books for making a commentary." In order to test him the Saṅgha gave him two gâthâs while saying: "Show on this subject your capacity. When we know it, we will give you all the books." Summing up the three piṭakas together with the commentary, he composed the *Visuddhimagga*. Then he summoned, near the Bodhi tree, the Saṅgha learned in the

²¹ Perhaps the author makes an allusion to the *Parmatthajotikâ*, commentary of the *Khuddakapâṭha*, this latter having in its depth only the *Parittam*.

²² *Theravādîn*. Childers, s. v. *vādo*: "It is opposed to *Atthakathâ* and clearly means the text of the Buddhist scriptures." But it points out evidently to the *Acariyavāddâ bhinarûpâ*, of which it is question, to the v. 1 fl., of theses professed by diverse schools under the form of treatises or of glosses other than the old commentaries.

doctrine of Buddha and began to read his work. The gods, desirous of showing in full light his ability before the crowd, caused the book to disappear : he composed it again a second and a third time. The third time—as he brought the book to deliver his lecture, the gods brought back the two others. The monks read the three copies simultaneecusly. There was not any difference between one and the other in the text, the ideas, the doctrines of theas, the quotations of the scriptures, the words and the very syllables. ‘He is certainly Metteya,’ cried the assembly several times and gave him the Tripiṭaka with the commentary.

Retired in the peaceful vihāra Ganthākara, he translated there all the Singhalese commentaries in the language of Magadha, which is the original idiom of all. This (compilation) proved a benefit to men of all languages; the theas and ācariyas received it as the very text of the scripture. Then having accomplished his aim, he returned to India for worshipping the Bodhi-tree.

Mahānāma, having enjoyed the earth for twenty-two years and having accomplished diverse meritorious deeds, passed away in conformity to his acts.”

2. *Saddhammasaṅgaha*.—The SS reproduces the account of CV adding simply the following details: Buddhaghosa embarks from Nāgapattānam; there he receives from Sakka a myrobalan and a pen of iron (of which the use is not precised). He meets on the sea Buddhadatta, with whom he converses (the subject of the conversation is not indicated). At last while—according to CV—he wrote his commentaries in the Vihāra Ganthākara (“the Library,”) the SS says that he worked in a storied edifice (pāsāda) called Padhānaghara, which was situated in the southern part of the Mahāvihāra.

3. *Buddhaghosuppatti-kathā*.—This biography in prose is much more complete than the preceding accounts and

gives a more important place to the marvellous incidents. It will suffice to summarize the eighth chapter.

In a village named Ghosa, in the vicinity of the Bodhi-tree (Bodh-Gayā) live the Brahman Keśi and his wife Kesinī. There lives also a certain therā who observes with regret that the lecture of the sacred text, being performed in Singhalese, is not understood by the audience: he searches for the means of getting them translated into Māgadhi. A god only can take up this task: the therā goes to Tāvatisa and induces the Devaputta Ghosa to incarnate in the womb of Kesinī. The infant receives the name of Ghosa and becomes distinguished from his youngest age, by a profound knowledge of the three Vedas. Humiliated in not being able to understand the Mātikā of the Abhidhamma recited by the therā, he becomes a monk, acquires in a short time the knowledge of the three Piṭakas and receives the name of Buddhaghosa.

He thinks of himself as superior to his master. The latter guessing about his thought reprimands him and consents to pardon him provided he goes to Ceylon for translating the sacred books into Māgadhi. After having converted his father by confining him, he embarks (the port is not named). The same day Buddhadatta, the other illustrious commentator, leaves Ceylon for returning to Northern India. Through the power of gods, the boats stop close to each other and thus allow the two theras to talk. Buddhadatta tells Buddhaghosa that he also had been sent to Ceylon for translating there the sacred books into Māgadhi, but that he was able to compose only the *Jinālamkāra*, the *Dantavamsa*, the *Dhātuvamsa*, and the *Buddhavamsa*.²³ He wishes him

²³ Buddhadatta is the author of a commentary on the *Buddhavamsa*, which exists again; his *Jinālamkāra*, different from that of

better success and transmits to him the presents of India : the myrobalan, the steel pen and the stone. If he happens to have some pain in the eyes or in the back it will suffice to press the myrobalan on the stone and to rub the ailing part : it will be immediately cured. They part. Buddhadatta reaches Jambudvīpa and dies shortly after. Buddhaghosa lands at *Dvijatthāna*, in the island of Ceylon. At that place two women dispute : Buddhaghosa records their abuses by writing. Cited as a witness in the tribunal of the king, he submits his record which serves as the basis for the judgment.

He goes to visit the Saṅgharāja Saṅghapāla and asks him for the books he has to translate. The other gives him first, to develop the gāthā : *Sīle patitthāya nara sapañño*, on which he composes *Visuddhimagga*. To show in full light his knowledge, Indra conceals successively two copies : his third text is found identical with the two first ones. He is given the books : he settles for translating them ; in the lower storey of the Lohapasāda. Within three months he finishes his task. The old Singhalese books of Mahinda are burnt as having become useless. Before departing he gives the proof of his knowledge of Sanskrit. He returns to his country and dies.

* * * *

SS does nothing more than to reproduce CV adding only a small number of details which—it is interesting to note—are not borrowed from BU : (a) the name of the port of sailing Nāgapattanam, is omitted in the two other texts ; (b) by the gift of a myrobalan and a pen of iron by Sakka to Buddhaghosa at the moment of his departure

Buddharakkhita, is lost. The two other works are unknown. On the other hand he has written two treatises not mentioned here the *Vinayavinicchaya*, and the *Abhidhammāvatāra*.

(according to BU they are handed over to him along with a stone, by Buddhadatta, who got them from Sakka); (c) the localisation of the *studio* of Buddhaghosa at Padhānaghara in the southern part of the Mahāvihāra (in the Ganthākara, according to CV; in the Lohapasāda, according to BU).

If one compares on the other hand the account of BU to that of CV it will be noticed that it contains some episodes more and a number of details less.

The journey of the therā to the heaven, the incarnation and the infancy of Ghosa do not figure in the CV. To the contrary, the same therā, anonymous in BU, holds in the CV the name of Revata. The scene of the conversion is introduced in a quite different manner as well as the exhortation for departure. The story of the sequestration of the father of Buddhaghosa is found only in BU.

CV does not give any detail of the voyage to Ceylon, which on the contrary furnishes the redactor of BU with the occasion for various episodes: the meeting in high sea with Buddhadatta, the landing at Dvijatthāna, the written evidence of Buddhaghosa on the dispute of two women, the audience of the king.

On the stay in the Mahāvihāra the two sources concord very nearly; however the BU adds two incidents which are wanting in CV: the destruction of the old Singhalese books of Mahinda and the lesson by which Buddhaghosa proves his knowledge of Sanskrit.

We have already observed that the account of SS has nothing original: except some details quoted above and which can issue from the oral tradition of the Mahāvihāra, except some verses borrowed from another source, it reproduces simply the text of CV which it introduces by the words *tenāhu porāṇā*. The BU employs equally this formula for citing five slokas of unknown origin, which

it may be useful to reproduce.²⁴ The two first ones (p. 38) mention the brahman Kesī, preceptor of a king and his wife Kesinī :

1. Kesīca nāma brāhmaṇo rañño ca vallabho piyo
Vedattayaṃ sikkhāpeti rājānaṃ ca dine dine ॥
2. tass'eva Kesinī nāma brāhmaṇī ca visārādī
brāhmaṇassa piyā hosi garuṭṭhā vā anālasā ॥

Two others (p. 45) relate the birth of Buddhaghosa :

3. Mahābodhi....samīpamhi jāto brāhmaṇa-kulesu
Buddhaghoso ti nāmena Buddho viya Mahītale ॥
4. pūjito nara-devehi brāhmaṇehi ca pūjito
pūjito bhikkhu saṅghehi niccaṃ labhati pūjitāṃ ॥

The last verse proclaims the celebrity of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon :

5. Buddhaghosa ti nāmena pākato sabbadīpake
manussānaṃ sadā seṭṭho Buddha viya mahītale ॥

It will be observed : 1° that 5a, d=3c, d! this repetition does not come certainly from the same source ; 2° that the verses 3, 4 cannot follow 1, 2 : it is at the beginning of the account that the indication of the place "in the vicinity of the Mahābodhi" should be found ; the expression 'in a family of brahmans' is not less out of place after the mention of the brāhmaṇa Kesī and the brāhmaṇī Kesinī. It is manifest that the verse : Mahābodhi-samīpamhi..." marks the beginning of a version akin to CV although distinct from this one. It is in

²⁴ We number these for the convenience of citation.

fact by this half-Çloka that the narration of CV (v. 65) opens :

Bodhimanda-samîpamhi jâto brâhmaṇa-mânavo.

The second half of the Çloka is as well found there, but after nine verses (v. 74) :

Buddhaghoso ti ghoso hi Buddhho viya mahâtale.

One can explain these peculiarities by supposing that in the monastic circles of Anurâdhapura were recited versions more or less divergent, more or less copious, of the legend of Buddhaghosa, and that this indefinite tradition was supported, according to a well-known process, by verses which constituted a web more resisting than the rest, although susceptible itself to variations and alterations.

The author of BU is not contented with this tradition : he has amplified his matter by means of incidents borrowed from sources not connected with Buddhaghosa. It cannot be doubted—for example—that the journey of the therâ to the heaven, the conversion of Buddhaghosa and his mission in expiation for a disrespectful thought towards his master are borrowed from the story of Nâgasena in *Milindapañha* (pp. 10-14), one can classify equally amidst these literary embellishments, without any possibility of determining the source, the episodes of the sequestration of Keśi, of the dispute of the two women and of the lesson in Sanskrit. On the contrary one has to recognise as being a part of the monastic traditions the incidents by which SS has completed the account of CV : the meeting of Buddhadatta and of Buddhaghosa, the anecdote of the myrobalan and of the pen of iron. The destruction by fire of the books of Mahinda can have been equally imagined by the monks for explaining the disappearance of that primitive literature.

But nothing in the account of BU appears to come out from CV; for this latter version contains certain characteristic details which the compiler would not have failed to collect: the fact that Buddhaghosa was an adept in the Yoga of Patañjali, the name of the thera Revata, the humorous apostrophe on the braying of the ass.

One can, consequently conceive in this way the nucleus of the tradition. About the 13th century, the monks of Anurâdhapura believed, that under the reign of Mahânâma (5th century), a monk of Magadha named Buddhaghosa had come to the island for translating into Māgadhi the Singhalese commentaries which were attributed to Mahinda. On the way he met with Buddhaddatta who was returning to Northern India. After having proved his capacity in writing three times successively the Visuddhimagga (the gods, for making a show of his knowledge, having concealed the first two copies), he at last executed his translation of Aṭṭhakathās. In those days they would still show the cell where he had been working, but they did not agree on the place, some would speak of the Library, the others of the Padhānaghara and some others of the Lohapāsāda. At last he returned to his country after having burnt the old Singhalese books of Mahinda which had become useless.

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What is the historical value of this tradition?

It agrees rather badly with what the Chinese pilgrims tell us about the religious condition of Magadha.^{24a}

^{24a} M. Pelliot has, however, identified with probability the thera Revata, teacher of Buddhaghosa, with the thera Raivata-svāmī, whom Fa-hian and Tehe-mong met in Pataliputra, in the beginning of the 5th century (Fa-hian, transl. Legge, p. 78; Pelliot, in *Bull. de l'École fr. d Extrême-Orient*, 1904, pp. 149, 412 and *T'oung Pao*, 1922, p. 244).

Fa-hian (399-414) indeed would be precisely contemporaneous with Buddhaghosa, but does not contain anything precise in that respect, but from the descriptions of Hiuan-tsang (the first half of the 7th century) and of Yi-tsing (end of the same century), it is clear that the Mahāyāna was prevailing there and that the only school of Hīnayāna, which was flourishing there was that of the Sarvāstivādins.²⁵ In truth, Hiuan-tsang names, in the vicinity of the Mahābodhi, two Singhalese foundations, but with characteristics which appear to confirm this thesis instead of shaking it. The first was a convent which served as a shelter to the pilgrims of Ceylon, and where lived nearly a thousand of monks, all *Mahāyānist Sthaviras*; ²⁶ the second was a temple dedicated to a statue of Avalokiteśvara, which means evidently a Mahāyānist cult.²⁷ It appears probable that those small settlements allocated first to the Theravādins had disappeared under the invading flood of Mahāyāna.²⁸

It is true that some leaves of the Cullavagga in the script of Northern India have been discovered in Nepal, dating from the end of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th century; ²⁹ and that some religious inscriptions in Pali have been noticed in parts of Behar.³⁰ It would be therefore too much to declare impossible the voyage

²⁵ Fa-hian, translated, Legge, pp. 87-89; Hiuan-tsang, *Life*, p. 143 and following, 164, 211; *Mém.*, I, 410, 440; Yi-tsing, *Record*, p. 8.

²⁶ Hiuan-tsang, *Mém*; I, 490.

²⁷ *Ib.*, II, 63.

²⁸ This is also probably the case for the religious men of *Samatata*, whom Hiuen-tsang call Sthaviras (*Mém.*, II, 82) and Yi-tsing describes as Mahāyānists (*Releigieux éminents*, p. 129).

²⁹ C. Bendall, *Note on the history of Pali canon in Northern India, as illustrated by a fragment of the Vinayapitaka (from Cullavagga IV. v.) of the 9th century, A. D.* (Verhandl. des XIII. internat. orientalisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, Sept. 1902, p. 58).

³⁰ C. Bendall, *On Pali Inscriptions from Magadha* (Actes du Congrès intern. des orientalistes, 1895, p. 153).

to Ceylon of a monk of Magadha, already familiar with Pāli and the Singhalese language and driven by a desire to bring back to his co-religionists in a form accessible to them the commentaries which did no more exist in their home. But one is inclined to find but little probability in this story. Supposing that some of the monasteries of Singhalese origin would have possessed as the code of practical life, the text of the Pāli Vinaya, it is evident that these modest communities exercised only a feeble influence. A learned brahman could have converted himself to the subtle and profound doctrines of the Mahāyāna as they were taught by some renowned doctors in the neighbouring university of Nālandā: or even have joined the school of the Sarvāstivāda, represented in Northern India by learned masters and a literature written in the very language of the Brahmanical Śāstrās; he likely would have felt only disdain for the unskilful exposition, the indigent logic, the poor style and the degenerated language of the Pāli scriptures.³¹

Let us admit however by hypothesis that the study of the Pāli texts had in the Magadhan convents a greater place than what the Chinese sources and the indigenous documents which have survived would let us suppose. If Buddhaghosa had restored to these centres—of which we know the ardent intellectual curiosities—the lost heritage of old commentaries, the work was considerable enough for bringing him a great and fasting celebrity: how is it that none of the Chinese pilgrims heard his name?

³¹ Cf. This is what is spoken of Buddhist Scriptures by Kumāṛila (cited by L. de La Vallée Poussin, J. R. A. S., 1902, p. 371):

tatas cāsatyaśabdeṣu kutas teṣv arthasatyatā |
dṛṣṭāpabhraṣṭarūpeṣu katham vā syād anāditā ||

“when the words are not exact how can the ideas be? In these degraded forms how to find eternity?”

Is it possible that in two or three centuries the souvenir of the great exegetist had completely disappeared from these learned Buddhist schools, so proud of their doctors, so attached to their tradition? That is difficult to admit.

Another circumstance increases our doubts. There exists a Chinese translation of the *Sāmantapāsādikā*³² under the title of *Chan-kien-pi-pro-cha-lu* by Saṅghabhadra, a Śramaṇa of the western region:³³ it is exactly dated 489 A. D., and therefore posterior to the utmost by 50 years to the presumed date of Buddhaghosa. It is not possible that in such a short lapse of time the name of the author had fallen into oblivion: now, the translator does not mention it in any way. Therefore, in the time of the Chinese translation, the *Sāmantapāsādikā* was an anonymous work.

It appears, therefore, more and more probable that the name of Buddhaghosa was never known outside Ceylon; the fact would be inexplicable if he had flourished in Northern India. But then what is the origin of the tradition that makes him come from Magadha? To this question the reply is very simple. The Singhalese had not any idea of the real state of Magadha; they believed candidly, as we have seen, that the commentaries recited there were, as in their own country, written in Singhalese; they might have believed similarly that the Māgadhi (then Pāli) was nothing else than the language of Magadha. Then who could have translated the *Aṭṭhakathā* into Māgadhi, if not a monk of Magadha? The voyage of Buddhaghosa was the logical conclusion of this reasoning. Is the very name of Buddhaghosa, more authentic than the rest? One dares not to affirm it.

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³² Takakusu—*A Record of Buddhist Religion*, p. 217.

³³ B. Nanjio, p. 248, n°. 1125; p. 420, n° 95.

Before concluding, let us have a glance at the commentaries themselves. We remark at first that several of these works attributed to Buddhaghosa were, according to the prologues of the author, composed at the request of one or other of his colleagues; the *Samantapāsādikā* was suggested to him by Buddhāsiri, the *Jātakatthakathā* ³⁴ by Atthadassin, Buddhamitta and Buddhadeva; the *Atthasālinī*, by Buddhaghosa. This latter name looks strange. It may be that the community of the Mahāvihāra had counted among its members two monks of the same name: this identity of name is nevertheless suspicious. However if one admits the tradition according to which Buddhaghosa would have come to Ceylon only with the object of translating the *Atthakathās*, why would these monks have solicited him?

There is however a commentary which bears no mention of any personal request; this is the commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*; it is besides of a particular interest. The prologue begins in these terms:

“The commentary which, in the object of elucidating the meaning, was chanted at first by the five hundred theras and chanted again afterwards; which was next brought to the island of Ceylon; which the thera Mahinda rendered into Singhalese for the convenience of the inhabitants of the island; I, in my turn divesting it from the Singhalese language and endowing to it an agreeable

³⁴ Winternitz, *Geschichte der Ind. Litt.*, 11, 1, p. 153, thinks it little probable that the *Jātaka* commentary comes from Buddhaghosa, because it is not like the others, a veritable commentary, but a collection of edifying accounts. This argument would have a certain value if the question was about the *author*; as regards a *translator* who followed the form of the original text it is absolutely without a bearing.

language, conformed to the model of the scripture, without defect, without changing anything in the tradition of the theras—torches of the line of theras and experts in their decisions—who inhabit the Mahāvihāra shall explain the meaning, avoiding the repetitions, for the satisfaction of the good people and the long duration of the religion. As discourse on the virtue, the dhūtaḍḍhammas, etc., all of these have been treated completely by me in the *Visuddhimagga*, I shall not occupy myself with them any longer here. For this *Visuddhimagga* I have composed it in a way, so that placed in the middle of the four Āgamas it can clear their meaning according to what is told there. With this work and the present commentary we will know clearly the meaning inherent in the Dīghāgama.”

It results from this preface that the author had composed previously the *Visuddhimagga* as a general introduction to the commentary of the four Āgamas or Nikāyas. Here is at least one fact established: the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and *Papañcasudānī*, the *Sāratthapakāsinī* and the *Manorathapūraṇī* have a common author. But another point is to be noted. This author begins by speaking in the more general terms of the *Atthakathā* chanted in various *Saṅgitis*. He does not make any distinction between the *Atthakathā* of the Vinaya, of the Suttanta and of the Abhidhamma. If he had approached here the Sutta-piṭakas after commenting upon the Vinaya, he would not have failed to mention the first work as he cites his *Visuddhimagga*. He would have said, for example, “after having translated the commentary of the Vinaya, I am going to translate that of the Āgamas.” Nothing of the kind. Now the author had before his eyes the Pāli commentary of the Vinaya, the *Samantapāsādikā* since he cites it several times (pp. 97, 98). What else to conclude from it but that in spite

of the tradition the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Sumaṅgalavīlāsini* are the work of different authors ?

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It seems therefore that the preceding observations authorise provisionally the following conclusions :

1. All the connections of Buddhaghosa with Pegu have to be set aside as resting on Burmese texts of a recent time and without authority.

2. The voyage of Buddhaghosa from Magadha to Ceylon has no warrant except the evidences very posterior to the date which is assigned to him and it does not present the characters of an historical fact.

3. It is certain that a commentary, that of the Vinaya had been redacted in Pāli in the middle of the 5th century. The other commentaries which must date about the same period, are apparently the works of several Singhalese translators, that the tradition has grouped under the more or less authentic name of Buddhaghosa.

Sun-worship amongst the aboriginal tribes of Eastern India.¹

By

TARAK CHANDRA DAS, M.A.

Whatever our friends of the Psychological School may say to explain the wide prevalence of sun-worship we cannot ignore its supreme historical significance. No doubt, this great luminary is worshipped in regions so wide apart from one another and by peoples so greatly differing in physique and culture that one may find himself lost in his course of peregrinations. But it cannot be denied that cultures are often so intimately associated with particular ethnic groups that their study in many cases leads to elucidation of complicated ethnological problems. In more than one case the study of culture-cognates has very dexterously solved racial questions of great importance, which have withstood all the attacks of the physical anthropologist. The study of the distribution of particular implement, custom, or religious idea has brought to light affinities between peoples who are now poles apart from one another in every way of life. Mr. Graebnar by studying the distribution of 'bow' all over the world has placed before the public a mass of materials which has solved many a vexed question of the past and has set up new problems for the future generations to enquire. So I hope, this humble attempt to study the distribution of sun-worship, now, circumscribed within the limits of Eastern India, may place

¹ This paper was read before the Ethnology and Folklore Section of the Second Oriental Conference held in Calcutta in January, 1922.

before you some questions requiring your immediate attention. This, I hope, is the best apology I may offer you in self-defence.

The great, radiant and jubilant deity of the firmament, who makes his appearance daily at the appointed hour and returns back to his mansion on the other side of the western hills, is the greatest object of reverence and worship for a number of tribes inhabiting the eastern portion of this vast continent of India. Generally it is not the *physical* sun who is so much adored and worshipped but it is the *indewelling spirit* of this bright orbit which is the object of so much regard and adoration. The Buraite Khond does not offer his sacrifice to the visible sun, nor does the Māle of the Rājmahal hills invoke his blessings, but to the *spirit* who comes out every morning from his palace beneath the eastern sea and whose seat is the bright orbit, these sacrifices are made.

The *supreme nature* of the sun-deity appears in many of the hill tribes inhabiting the Tributary mahals of Orissa and the plateau of Chota-Nagpur extending on one side up to the hilly regions of the Central Provinces and on the other the plains of Bengal. The Bonāi Bhuiyās and the Hill Bhuiyās of Orissa and the Juangs of the Keonjhar State worship "*Boram*" the sun-god as creator and preserver. The Kharias of Lohardaga also follow suit. The Hos of the territory between Lohardaga and Keonjhar regard "*Sing Bongā*" otherwise known as "*Ote Boram*" as the chief god of their tribe, who created the earth and filled it with all sorts of life. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy tells us that the Mundās of Chota-Nagpur also place the sun-god "*Sing Bongā*" at the head of their pantheon. The Santal religious system is headed by the great sun-god "*Sing Bongā*" or "*Chando*." In a paper entitled "*The Kharwar Movement among the Santals*"

recently published in the *Man in India* (Vol. I, No. 3) Rev. P. O. Bodding provides us with another instance of this Santal belief. Says he "A common practice for all three sects (of the Kharwar Santals) is that they worship Ram Chando. *Ram* is a Hindu deity; *Chando* is Santali for sun, but used about the God of the Universe, who is confounded with the sun." I do not think it is a case of mere confusion. The evidences set forth here are sufficient to prove the existence of an wide spread idea among the primitive tribes of Eastern India that the sun is the supreme god of the universe. About the Oraons Father Dehon writes, "They worship a supreme god who is known as *Dharmesh*." This "*Dharmesh*" is no other than the sun-god "*Sing Bongā*" of the Santals and the Mundās and "*Boram*" of the Bhuiyas and the Kharias. The Māle of the Rajmahal hills and the Mal-Paharias of the Ramgarh hills have the sun as their supreme god. The former names him as '*Dharmer Gosain*' and the latter only '*Gosain*.' Passing on to the Gonds we find the names "*Bura Deo*, *Bada Deo* or *Badial pen*" used to indicate their supreme deity—the sun-god. Speaking of the religious doctrine common to all the Khond tribes Captain Macpherson says "There is one Supreme Being, self-existing, the source of Good and creator of the universe, of the inferior gods and of man," known as *Boora Pennu* (the sun-god or god of light) or as *Bella Pennu* (the sun-god). The Bhuiyas, the Asuras, the Korwas and the Birhors and some other smaller tribes also pay their reverence to the sun as their chief god. The names by which this god is addressed amongst the tribes described above may be classified into two groups, viz., *Sing Bongā* and *Boram*. The group of tribes which uses the former name i.e., *Sing Bongā* has no other variant for it. But the name *Boram* has a good number of variants, all of which can be

recognised as derived from it. The variants generally are Bero, Bedo, Buda, Biru, Bella, Bada, Badial, etc.

Amongst all these tribes named above there is one common feature which strikes even any casual observer. It is the *beneficent but innocuous nature* of this supreme god the sun-deity. Is it not strange to find among a group of tribes living over a wide extent of territory preserving amongst themselves an idea which by nature seems to be incoherent? The deity who is the chief of all the gods or spirits and who is always beneficently disposed towards his devotees is completely helpless in the hands of the mischievous minor godlings, who are in most cases his own creations, in matters of defending his poor worshippers on the earth.

Passing on to Assam and the hilly tracts thereof we find a number of tribes who pay reverence to the sun-deity. These are the Garos of Garo Hills, the Meitheis of Manipur, the Mikirs, and the Mao and Quoireng Nagas of Manipur. But the nature of the god here shows a good deal of difference from what he is among the tribes of Orissa, Chota-Nagpur and Western Bengal. The sun-deity is no longer a *supreme god* to any of the tribes who worship him in this tract of Mongoloid tribes and language. He has lost here his dignified position and is even sometimes characterised as a thief and a malignant deity (*e.g.*, among the Quoirengs)—like mortals seeking after remedies to heal his wounds.

A peculiar feature of sun-worship among all these tribes is the general *absence of any material representation of the deity*. The sacrifices are offered to him in an open space cleared of jungle where an altar is raised. Among the Bhuiyās of Orissa Hills the foot of the sacred tree of the *Deota Sara* serves the purpose of the altar. Among the Santals the sacrifice is placed on an open space where the rays of the rising sun may fall upon the

offerings. An ant-hill in an open space is the altar on which the Kharias and the Korwas place their offerings for the solar deity. The Mal-Paharias worship him before the house on a clean space, where a brass pot of water with a mango-twigg placed on it, is thought to represent the seat of the sun-god. (This may be a rude imitation of the Hindu *pūrṇa-kumbha* required in all sorts of sacred ceremonies—religious or social.) Among the Mongoloid tribes also we do not find any reference to the material representation of the god. In connection with the inhabitants of the hills near Rajmahal Lieut. Thomas Shaw says that the probationary period of the *Demauuo* (the priest) ends with the sacrifice offered to the trees brought by him in his frenzied state. The worship is paid not to the trees but to *Bedo* the sun-god, whom they represent or whose seat they perhaps are. But strangely enough the Male of the Rajmahal hills set up a roughly hewn post in front of each house to represent the sun and offerings are placed before it. Almost similar is the custom of the Hinduised Gonds of Singhbhum. On a special day all the male adults proceed to the forest and set up the altar of *Bura Deo* underneath an *Asan* tree. A symbol of the god is next placed on it before which sacrifices take place. Referring to the Kharwar Santals Rev. P. O. Bodding writes—"Their women every morning plaster a small circular spot with cowdung in the middle of the courtyard and also at the entrance from the village street. They take care not to be seen during this operation. This plastered bit symbolizes the sun. Some of their women have taken up the habit of lighting a lamp every evening after sunset, and they worship with this in their hand turning to the four corners of the world." One common feature which looms large before our eyes about the place of worship most suitable to the sun-god according to the unwritten

Sastras of these aboriginal tribes, is the supreme necessity of a *clear open space* on which the sun may shine freely without any obstruction. The usefulness of this custom is apparent from the Mal-Paharia system where the falling of the sun's rays on the articles offered is a necessity. This also perhaps explains similar customs of making offerings to the sun in the open air by the rural people of Bengal in many of their *vratas* performed for the blessings of the sun-god. (e.g., *Sūryavrata*, *Tapāvratā*, *Itu-pūjā*).

Coming to the articles offered to the sun we find a very important and interesting characteristic. As a rule all the tribes we have mentioned above offer animal sacrifices to the sun which consist of fowls, goats, pigs, buffaloes and others. The most important fact about this is the wide prevalence of offering *white coloured animals or birds* to the sun-god. It is not limited to the tribes inhabiting the Chota-Nagpur and Orissa Hills and Western Bengal, but is also to be met with among the Mongoloid tribes who adore the sun-deity. The Bhuiyas of Orissa Tributary Mahals offer a white cock to *Boram* their chief god once a year, during the sowing season. Every Kharia householder of Lohardaga and near about, should during his life make not less than five sacrifices to *Bero* of which the third is a white goat. In the month of August when the *Gora* rice ripens the first fruits of the year are offered to *Sing Bongā* by the Hos of Singbhum. The offering remains to be incomplete without the sacrifice of a white cock which is sacrificed at the same time. The Mundas of Chota-Nagpur and surrounding places worship *Sing Bongā* in times of great distress with the sacrifice of a white fowl. According to Father Dehon a white cock is offered to *Dharmesh*, who is no other than the great sun-god, in times of calamity when prayers to other gods have failed. Travelling towards

Assam region we find the same tale repeated there. "The Sun-god is worshipped by the people of Fayeng Loi in Sajiban (April) when they offer up a white fowl and a white pigeon." The Mao Nagas of Manipur who regard the sun-god as a beneficent deity sacrifice a white cock to him. *Arnam Paro* (the Hundred god) of the Mikirs is specially fond of white goats and white fowls which are sacrificed to him. (But this god seems to have no connection with the sun). The wide prevalence of the sacrifice of white animals to the sun-god among peoples living in different parts of Eastern India requires a minute study to find out its cause.

Thus there appear to us three noteworthy points, namely (1) the sun—the supreme beneficent deity, devoid of any power to check the malevolent attempts of minor godlings towards his earthly worshippers, though acknowledged, recognised and revered, yet neglected,—(2) the necessity of a clean open space for the worship of this deity, and (3) the extensive use of white animals as the best form of sacrifice offered to him. These clearly indicate that at some remote past there had been a people living in this Eastern India who were ardent worshippers of the sun-god. With them the sun-deity was a powerful god,—the distributor of good and evil, the source of life and prosperity, the bestower of happiness and misery both in this and in the next world.

This, once active and powerful god has now amongst a new environment lost his former power though retaining the prestige. This seems to me the key-note of similarity we find about sun-worship in tribes so widely separated from each other physically and geographically as the Khond and the Naga.

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On a Legend from South Bihār.

BY

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

In a previous paper,¹ I have given an account of the rites and ceremonies performed in connection with the Karmā Dharmā Festival as it is celebrated in North Bihār. In that paper, I have stated that the celebrant of the Karmā Dharmā worship may not only take fruits, etc., after performing the *pūjā* and hearing the legend, but that she should also remain fasting in the morning of the day of this worship. I have further stated therein that, if the celebrant abstains altogether from taking any food on the day of the celebration of this worship, she should take food in the morning of the next day after presenting some rice, pulses, vegetables, etc., to the Brāhmaṇa-priest who has officiated at this worship.

But there appears to be some difference in the procedure followed in South Bihār after the *pūjā* has been finished. There the womenfolk who perform the Karmā Dharmā *vrat* or ceremonial worship have to cook rice and the tender leaves and shoots of the aquatic creeper called in Hindi *karmā ke sāg* [कर्म के साग (*Ipomœa aquatica*—Order *Convolvulacœ*)] and partake of the same. (Note the similarity between the name of this plant and *Karmā*—the first portion of the name of this festival, and *Karam*—the name of the god of luck mentioned hereafter.)

It is in connection with the partaking of this cooked food that the following hitherto unpublished legend is

¹ Vide my paper entitled : "On the Karmā Dharmā Festival of North Bihār and its Mundā Analogues" in *The Journal of the Department of Letters of the University of Calcutta*, Vol. IV, pp. 289-304.

narrated in South Bihār. It should be noted that, in this legend, the omnipotence of the deity or godling Karam (or the god of luck) has been set forth.

THE LEGEND.

After all the celebrants had finished the performance of this ceremonial worship known as the Karmā Dharmā *vrat*, they cooked and ate rice and *karmi ke sāg* (*Ipomœa aquatica*).

But one of the celebrant-women proudly threw away the scum of the cooked rice into the heap of kitchen-refuse. At that place dwelt her *Karam* (or the god of luck). He was singed by the hot scum. As the result of this insult to the deity, all the wealth and property of that proud woman vanished in the course of the same night. On account of this, she became so much poverty-stricken that she had not the wherewithal to procure even a loin-cloth to put on. So she had to go about stark naked.

Shortly afterwards, when she was going somewhere, a buffalo came towards her, brandishing his horns. This frightened her very much. But, as she was stark naked, she could not call out for help. She, however, found a winnowing-fan lying upon the ground, which she picked up, and, with it, covered herself up so as to preserve her modesty. Seeing this, the buffalo laughed aloud.

Seeing her distressed condition, her relatives and kinsmen, instead of feeling any compassion for her, deserted her and left her to her fate.

Having been reduced to this woe-begone condition, she begged for a piece of tattered cloth from a beggar woman and, having put it on, went in search of employment to the homestead of a cultivator who was transplanting paddy-seedlings.

Seeing her distressed condition, the cultivator engaged her; and she accordingly transplanted the paddy-seedlings. The seedlings transplanted by the other female labourers remained in their respective plots and grew up. But those transplanted by the luckless woman were washed away by the flood.

Seeing this, the cultivator enquired of the luckless woman: "How is this? Why are the paddy-seedlings transplanted by the other women sticking to the ground and growing up? But why are those transplanted by you being washed away? However, as you have done some work, I shall pay you something."

When the cultivator paid up the wages to the other female labourers, all the money at his disposal was spent up. So he could not pay up anything to the luckless woman. Thereupon addressing her, he said: "I am unable to pay you anything to-day. Come to-morrow, I shall pay you two days' wages in a lump."

At this, she went away and came back to the cultivator on the next day to receive her wages. But, on that day also, the money again ran short.

Thereupon she thought within herself: "Perhaps I owed something to this cultivator in a previous life. It is for this reason that I am not getting from him my due wages in this life. Let me go somewhere else in search of employment."

When she went in quest of work to another employer, the same sort of ill-luck befell her. At this, she said to herself: "Ah me! all this is due to my bad luck."

On hearing her lamentation, the deity Karam (or the god of luck) appeared before her and said: "Why are you invoking me? You have already singed me with the hot scum of the cooked rice."

Hearing these words, she placed the fringe of her tattered clothing round her neck and, falling down at and

clasping the deity's feet, wept and said: "When I have found you out, I shall not let you go unless and until you relent towards me and show me compassion."

The deity replied: "If you act according to my instructions, my wrath will be appeased; and I shall show you some favour."

Thereupon she said: "Do be good enough to give me your instructions. I shall act up to the same."

The god of luck replied: "Go away from this place and cross the seven seas. On arrival there, you will find enormous quantities of blood, pus, spittle and congealed phlegm. You should not entertain any feelings of disgust at the sight of these abominable things. But, on the other hand, you should besmear your body with the same. If, seeing your filth--besmeared body, people should ask you to leave that place, don't go away from there until the cold breath of the "Śesha Serpent (शेषनाग)" will touch your body. When this breath will touch your body, the wrath of the god of luck towards you will be appeased."

The luckless woman acted up to these directions. Thereupon the wrath of the deity Karam (or the god of luck) towards her cooled down; and, becoming favourably disposed towards her, he told her to go home.

On arrival at home, she found her house bountifully supplied with the necessities of life and lived there in happiness and prosperity.

The most interesting features of the foregoing legend are:—

(a) The device adopted by the godling Karam to demonstrate his omnipotence to his votaries.

(b) The heroine's covering her nakedness with a winnowing-fan.

(c) The miraculous exhaustion of the money.

(d) The luckless woman's crossing the seven seas and going to another country in order to regain her former happiness.

(e) Her besmearing herself with abominable filth and expressing no disgust at the same.

(f) The fact of the Sesha Nāga's cold breath touching the heroine's body and putting an end to the curse that lay upon her.

I shall, first of all, take up and discuss the point (a) *supra*. Whenever the votary of any Hindu deity happens to insult or otherwise displease him or her, the latter usually shows his or her wrath towards the former by subjecting him to all manner of trials and tribulations. When, after undergoing the same, the former is brought to a sense of the foolhardiness that had led him to offend the latter, and begs for mercy, the latter relents towards the former and restores him to his former happiness and prosperity. It is, by means of this device, that the Hindu deities demonstrate their omnipotence to their votaries and to the people of the world at large.

This is exemplified by almost all the legends which are current in connection with the worship of every Hindu god and goddess. Nowhere is it more strikingly illustrated than in the legend connected with the deity Satyanārāyaṇa or Satyadeva whose worship is so popular throughout Northern India. It teems with instances of the aforementioned device, of which a few are set forth below.

When, in order to test the devotion to him of a proud merchant who had arrived with boats laden with wealth and merchandise, the deity Satyadeva or Satyanārāyaṇa assumed the guise of a Daṇḍī or an ascetic and enquired of the former about the contents of his boats, the merchant flouted the deity by giving flippant replies to his queries. At this, the deity became exceedingly wroth, and pronounced a curse upon the merchant,

whereupon the latter's boats became filled with creepers and leaves.

Seeing this miraculous metamorphosis of his merchandise, the merchant became stricken with great grief and set about to enquire inwardly about the reason of his sudden adversity. After carefully thinking over this matter, he came to the conclusion that it was the deity Satyanārāyaṇa who, being offended with him on account of his flippancy, had pronounced on him a curse which had resulted in his sudden poverty.

He, therefore, worshipped, with due rites and ceremonies, the deity Satyanārāyaṇa who thereupon became pleased with his returning faith in and devotion to himself, and, removing his former curse, pronounced a benediction upon him. On this, his boats again became filled with wealth and merchandise.

Thereafter the merchant, accompanied by his son-in-law who had gone out with him on the trading tour, arrived at his native city. Hearing of their arrival, his daughter Kalāvati hurriedly finished her worship of the deity Satyanārāyaṇa and, without partaking of the food-offerings presented to his deityship, went to the sea-side to see her husband.

At this, the deity was exceedingly wroth and, to show his anger, spirited away her husband and caused her father's boats to capsize in the sea. Thereupon she began to think over the matter and, as the result thereof, found out that the deity's wrath was the cause of this fresh disaster. She, therefore, hurried back home and partook of the food-offerings which she had left uneaten. Thereby the deity was propitiated and, to show his good will, caused her husband to re-appear and her father's submerged boats to rise above the surface of the waters.¹

¹ Vide my paper "On the Worship of the Deity Satyanārāyaṇa in Northern India" in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, pp. 796-799.

Then again, there was a Rājā named Tūṅgadhvaja. He had 100 sons and possessed great wealth and a goodly number of stores of grain.

One day, he went out a-hunting ; and, in the course of his chase after game, he arrived at a place where the cowherds were worshipping the deity Satyanārāyaṇa. Out of haughtiness and pride, he neither made any obeisance to the deity nor did he partake of the food-offerings which were given him by the cowherds to eat. This act of studied insult greatly angered the deity who, to make the offending Rājā feel the consequences of his wrath, brought about the death of his 100 sons and destroyed all his wealth and stores of grain.

When the Rājā came to know that the wrath of the deity Satyanārāyaṇa was the cause of all his trials and tribulations, he went to the place where the cowherds had worshipped his deityship and made *pūjā* to him with due rites and ceremonies.

This appeased the deity's wrath, whereupon the Rājā's 100 sons came to life again ; and the Rājā himself got back all his wealth and stores of grain.¹

Then I come to the point (b). This incident has a well-known parallel in the English Bible in which Eve is represented as *covering her nakedness with a fig-leaf when she began to feel the sense of modesty after being tempted by Satan*. Also compare it with the following incident which occurs in the legend of the goddess Andheśvari which is current in the district of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal. In this legend, it is stated that, when the merchant's youngest daughter-in-law went to fill her jar with water from a tank, she was overtaken by a Rājā's army. Feeling apprehensive of meeting with violence at the hands of the Rājā's soldiers, she began to weep bitterly and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 800.

invoked the goddess Andheśvarī to rescue her from this dangerous situation. Hearing her piteous cries, the goddess appeared before her in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa woman, and, addressing her, said : “ *Take seven leaves of the vinā-tree. Shut up your eyes ; tack the leaves one to another, and, covering yourself up with this leaf-covering, remain concealed underneath the tree. If the Rājā's soldiers should go away, you should get up, and, taking away the leaf-covering, should go home joyfully.*”¹

Then I shall take up the point (c) mentioned *supra*. I have not been able to find in Indian folklore any parallel to this incident, namely, the miraculous exhaustion of the money. But there is, in Greek mythology, the legend of Tantalus which, if not exactly parallel to this incident, is the nearest approach to it. Now, Tantalus was a King of Lydia, son of Zeus, and father of Niobe and Pelops. The Greek poets say that, for some heinous sin committed by him, he was condemned to remain in Hades and punished with an unquenchable thirst. He was immersed up to his chin in a stream of water. Whenever he tried to slake his thirst with the water from that stream, *it flowed away from him*. Then again, there hung over his head the branch of a tree richly loaded with fruits of a delicious flavour. Whenever he attempted to pluck these fruits, *they were carried away from his reach by a sudden gust of wind*. This miraculous flowing away of the water, and the carrying away of the fruits, from the reach of Tantalus are incidents analogous, if not similar, to the miraculous exhaustion of the money.

Then I come to the point (d). This incident is common enough in Indian folktales. In one folktale, the heroine's abode is *across the seven seas*. In a second one, the hero of the tale *has to cross seven rivers* in order to

¹ Vide my paper entitled : “ *On the Worship of the Goddess Andheśvarī* ” in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, p. 709.

reach the heroine. In a third folk-tale, the seventh queen *goes across seven oceans*.¹ (Note that seven is a sacred number.)

Then there is the point (*e*) for discussion. Although I have not come across any exact parallel of this incident, there are, in Indian folklore, analogous instances of the heroine's performing tasks of a very disgusting nature with the greatest alacrity and without feeling any disgust at all.

Take, for instance, the legend which is recited, in the village of Pāñchthupī in the Kāndi subdivision of the district of Murshidābād, on the occasion of the worship of Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth, on a Thursday in the light fortnight of the months of Pausa (December-January), Chaitra (March-April), and Bhādra (August-September). In this legend, the heroine is stated to have licked out with her tongue and wiped out with the hair of her head, the excreta of a goddess whom she had offended, as will appear from the following abstract thereof :—

When Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth, found out that every god and goddess, excepting herself, were worshipped by the people of the mundane world, she resolved upon promulgating therein the worship of her own self. With this object in view, she deputed Kuvera, the god of wealth, to the Rāṇī of the nearest country to request her to inaugurate her worship so that, by following the latter's example, all the people of this world might worship her.

When Kuvera came to the Rāṇī and informed her of the goddess' request, she refused to comply with it, saying that she had so many other duties to attend to that she could not possibly perform this new job that was being

¹ *A Survey of the Incidents in Modern Indian Folktales* appended to Steel's *Tales of the Panjab*, London, Macmillan & Co., 1894, p. 392.

entrusted to her. Not content with this refusal, she further ordered her servants to expel the goddess' messenger from the precincts of the palace. In carrying out her orders, they maltreated Kuvera.

Having been subjected to this insult and maltreatment, Kuvera went back to Lakshmi in a towering rage and informed her of what had taken place.

When the goddess heard of the scurvy treatment that had been meted out to her messenger, she became exceedingly wroth with the Rāṇī and pronounced a curse upon her and her husband, dooming them to the total loss of their property and to be reduced to abject poverty.

As the result of this curse, the Rāṇī began to vomit from her mouth flames of fire which not only destroyed her palace but also devastated the entire countryside, burning up the standing crops and the entire vegetation. At the same time, all the belongings—both animate and inanimate—of her husband, the Rājā, were also miraculously destroyed.

When the Rājā came to know that all this ruin had been inflicted upon him an account of the scurvy treatment which his Rāṇī had meted out to Kuvera, the messenger of the goddess of wealth, he determined to have her killed. With this object in view, he ordered the public executioner to take her to the forest and there to put her to death. But, feeling compassion for her, the executioner did not kill her but simply set her free in the forest. Then, returning home, he falsely gave the Rājā to understand that he had killed her.

While wandering about in the forest, the accursed Rāṇī saved the nestlings of two birds named Bihāṅgama and Bihāṅgamī from death. Out of gratitude for this act of benefit, the two birds informed their benefactress that all her and her husband's tribulations were due to the anathema that had been pronounced upon her by

Lakshmī and that, if she would go to the goddess' abode and serve her in the capacity of a menial, the latter would be so far propitiated as would lead her to withdraw the curse and restore her and her husband to their former happiness and prosperity.

Hearing these words, the accursed Rānī agreed to act up to the birds' advice. Thereupon Bihāṅgama and Bihāṅgamī spread out their wings conjointly on which she took her seat. Thus seated, she was conveyed across seven seas and thirteen rivers [this is another instance of the incident (d) mentioned *supra*] and landed in the dominions of the goddess of wealth.

Arrived there, she entered the service of the goddess Lakshmī in the capacity of a maid-servant and *began to remove the latter's excreta by licking up the same with her tongue and wiping it out with the hair of her head.*

When the goddess Lakshmī came to know that the accursed Rānī was serving her in the capacity of the most degraded scavenger with the greatest alacrity, her wrath towards the latter was entirely appeased. As the result of this, she withdrew her anathema upon the latter and pronounced a benediction upon her. Under the influence of this blessing, she and her husband were restored to their former prosperity and happiness.

Thenceforward the Rājā and the Rānī began to worship the goddess Lakshmī with due rites and ceremonies. Following their example, all the people of this mundane world also performed the same worship.¹

Then again, in a legend which is recited in connection with the worship of Śitalā, the goddess of small-pox, an incident analogous to the aforementioned one, occurs and is to the effect that the heroine has to lick the

¹ *Vrata Kathā* (in Bengali). By Śrīmatī Kiraṇabālā Dāsī. Published by the Baṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat from its Rooms No. 24311, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. 1319 B. S., pp. 84-99.

putrid carcase of a dead animal without feeling any disgust whatever. This worship takes place on the sixth day in the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha (January-February).

This legend sets forth that, in the days of yore, a Rāṇī refused to worship the goddess Śītālā. Thereupon the latter pronounced an anathema upon her. Under the influence of this curse, she and her husband, the Rājā, lost all their wealth and worldly belongings.

At this, the Rājā got very much angry with his spouse and banished her to the wilderness. There she wandered about, as a destitute beggar, invoking the goddess Śītālā to take pity on her.

Hearing these piteous cries, Śītālā in the guise of an old woman appeared before her and, addressing her, said : "Go to such and such a place. There you will find a pot of curdled milk (*dahi*). Take it up with you and go to such and such a place where you will find the putrid carcase of a dead dog lying full of maggots. *Besmeat the carcase with the curdled milk and then lick it with your tongue. If you lick it without feeling any disgust, the curse will be removed ; and you will be restored to your lost prosperity. Should you, however, feel any disgust while licking it, the curse will continue upon you.*"

Hearing this advice, the Rāṇī made up her mind to act up to it. Accordingly she went to the spot indicated by the goddess and, taking up with her the pot of *dahi* which she found there, went to the other place where the carcase of the dead dog lay putrefying and full of maggots.

Arrived there, she shut her eyes and, besmearing the carcase with the dahi, licked it without feeling any disgust whatever. On opening her eyes, she found before her a dolly in the likeness of a dog, made of clotted cream (क्षीर-पुतुल) which she had been licking with her tongue. (Note that this is an instance of miraculous substitution.)

Thereby she and her husband, the Rājā, got back their lost wealth and worldly possessions.

Lastly, there remains the point (f) for consideration. It is the curious incident of the Śesha Nāga's (or Serpent's) cold breath touching the heroine's body and putting an end to the curse that lay upon her.

I have not been able to find out any parallel of this incident.

On Two New Types of Accumulation Drolls

BY

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A.

In a previous paper,¹ I have shewn that Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folktales are stories in which the narrative goes on by means of short and pithy sentences, and, at every step of which, all the previous steps thereof are repeated, till, at last, the whole series of steps thereof are recapitulated. I have further shewn therein that these Cumulative Folktales may be classified under three classes or types, namely, (1) the Titty Mouse Type; (2) the Old Woman and Pig Type; and (3) the Henny Penny Type.

In that paper, I have fully discussed all the Accumulation Drolls of the second class, that is to say, of the Old Woman and Pig Type, and have also published a Bihāri and a Bengali variant classifiable under that category.

In this paper, I shall deal with three Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folktales which have been discovered in recent years, but which have not yet been studied and discussed from the folklorist's point of view. I shall shew, later on, that these three stories will have to be classified under two new types.

Two of the three Cumulative Folktales are current among two Mongoloid tribes of people who have their habitat in the hill-tracts of North-Eastern India and who speak languages belonging to the Kuki-Chin group of the

¹ Vide my paper on "An Accumulation Droll and Rhyme from Bihār, with Remarks on Accumulation Drolls" in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXX, Part III, No. 2 (for 1901), pp. 99-104.

Tibeto-Burman family of speech. While the third one is current among the Burmese—a race of people having close ethnic affinity with the two aforementioned Mongoloid tribes.

The Aimols constitute a small tribe which belongs to the Kuki-Chin group of the Tibeto-Burman family. They have their habitat in the hills which hem in the Valley of Manipur. A small colony of this tribe also lives in a village named Aimol which is situated in the southern part of the Manipur Valley. It is stated that these colonist are only the small remnants of a larger tribe of Aimols which is alleged by these tribesmen to have come over to these parts from the direction of Tipperah. In the beginning of the present century, the total number of their population was roughly estimated at from 500 to 1,000.

The Accumulation Droll, which is current among the Aimols of the Manipur Valley, and which is entitled: “*How Warts came on the Toad's Back*,” is as follows:

(1) In the olden times, there lived a man named Chemchongsaipa. One day, when he was whetting his axe on the bank of a river, a shrimp stung him on the leg with its claws.

(2) At this, Chemchongsaipa got cross, and felled down a *khaūm* tree (of which the fruit is as large as a water-melon).

(3) At this, the *khaūm* tree got angry, and let fall one of its large fruits, which dropped down on the back of a cock.

(4) At this, the cock got cross, and, with his feet, dug out an ants' nest.

(5) At this, the ants became angry, and nipped the tail of a snake with their mandibles.

(6) At this, the snake got cross, and stung a boar on the leg.

(7) At this, the boar got cross, and dug up a plantain tree with his tusks.

(8) At this, a bat, which lived in the roots of the plantain tree, got cross, and flew into the ear of an elephant.

(9) At this, the elephant got cross, and rolled down a mortar.

(10) The mortar, when it rolled down, fell plump upon a widow's house, and demolished it.

(11) At this, the widow got cross, and began to reproach the delinquents in the following way :—

(a) Addressing the mortar, she said : “ As you have demolished my house, pay me a fine.”

To this the mortar replied : “ I won't pay you the fine, as the elephant rolled me down, which caused me to demolish your house.”

(b) Then addressing the elephant, she said : “ As you have rolled down the mortar which, while rolling down, fell upon my house and demolished it, pay me a fine.”

To this the elephant replied : “ I won't pay you the fine, as a bat flew into my ear, which made me cross and caused me to roll down the mortar which had demolished your house.”

(c) Then addressing the bat, she said : “ As you flew into the ear of the elephant who, being angered thereby, rolled down the mortar which fell upon my house and demolished it, pay me a fine.”

To this the bat replied : “ I won't pay you the fine, as a boar uprooted a plantain tree in the roots of which I lived. This made me cross and caused me to fly into the elephant's ear.”

(d) Then addressing the boar, she said : “ As you have uprooted the plantain tree in the roots of which there lived a bat who, being angered thereby, flew into

the ear of an elephant who, being made cross thereby, rolled down a mortar which fell upon my house and demolished it, pay me a fine."

To this the boar replied: "I won't pay you the fine, as a snake stung me on the leg, which angered me and caused me to uproot the plantain tree in the roots of which the bat lived."

(e) Then addressing the snake, she said: "As you have stung a boar on the leg, who, being angered thereby, has uprooted a plantain tree in which a bat lived, who, being made cross thereby, flew into the ear of an elephant who, being angered thereby, rolled down a mortar which fell upon my house and demolished it, pay me a fine."

To this the snake replied: "I won't pay you the fine, as the ants nipped my tail with their mandibles, which made me cross and caused me to sting the boar on the leg."

(f) Then addressing the ants, she said: "You nipped the tail of the snake with your mandibles, which angered him and caused him to sting the boar on the leg, which angered the latter and made him uproot the plantain tree in which the bat lived. This made the bat cross and caused him to fly into the ear of the elephant who, being angered thereby, rolled down the mortar which fell upon my house and demolished it. So pay me a fine."

To this the ants replied: "We won't pay you the fine, as a cock dug out our nest with his feet. This made us angry and caused us to nip the snake's tail with our mandibles."

(g) Then addressing the cock, she said: "You dug up with your feet the ants' nest. This made the ants cross and caused them to nip the tail of a snake with their mandibles. This angered the snake who, thereupon,

stung a boar on the leg. This made the boar angry who, thereupon, uprooted a plantain tree in which a bat lived. This made the bat cross, who, thereupon, flew into the ear of an elephant who, being angered thereby, rolled down a mortar which fell upon my house and demolished it. Therefore pay me a fine."

To this the cock replied: "I won't pay you the fine, as the fruit of a *khaūm* tree fell upon my back, made me cross, and, therefore, led me to dig up the ants' nest with my feet."

(h) Then addressing the *khaūm* tree, she said: "You dropped down your big fruit upon the back of a cock who, being angered thereby, dug up an ants' nest with his feet. This made the ants cross and caused them to nip a snake's tail with their mandibles. This angered the snake who, thereupon, bit a boar upon the leg. The boar, getting angry at this, uprooted a plantain tree in which a bat lived. Thereupon the bat got cross and flew into the ear of an elephant who, being angered thereby, rolled down a mortar which fell upon my house and demolished it. Therefore pay me a fine."

To this the *khaūm* tree replied: "I won't pay you the fine, as Chemchongsaipa felled me down. This made me cross and caused me to drop down my big fruit upon the cock's back."

(i) Then addressing Chemchongsaipa, she said: "You felled down a *khaūm* tree which, getting cross thereat, dropped down one of its big fruits upon the back of a cock who, being angered thereby, dug up an ants' nest with his feet. This made the ants angry and caused them to nip a snake's tail with their mandibles. This made the snake cross and led him to sting a boar on the leg, who, being angered thereby, uprooted a plantain tree in which a bat lived. The bat got cross thereat and flew into the ear of an elephant who, getting angry

thereat, rolled down a mortar which fell upon my house and demolished it. So pay me a fine."

To this Chemchongsaipa replied: "I won't pay you the fine, as a shrimp stung me on the leg with its claws. This made me cross and caused me to fell down the *khaūm* tree."

(j) Then addressing the shrimp, she said: "You stung Chemchongsaipa on the leg with your nippers. This made him cross and caused him to fell down the *khaūm* tree which, getting angry thereat, dropped down one of its large fruits upon a cock's back. The cock, being angered thereby, dug up an ants' nest with his feet. This made the ants cross and caused them to nip the tail of a snake with their mandibles. The snake, being angered thereby, stung a boar upon the leg, who, getting cross thereat, uprooted a plantain tree in which a bat lived. This made the bat angry and led him to fly into the ear of an elephant who, getting cross thereat, rolled down a mortar which fell upon my house and demolished it. So pay me a fine."

To this demand, the shrimp did not make any response whatever, though it was repeatedly asked to do so.

Seeing the shrimp's stolid silence, she enquired of it: "Do let me know whether you would like to lie in hot or in cold water."

This time, the shrimp broke silence and replied: "Lady! I would much rather lie in cold water."

Accordingly she and the other creatures assembled there, placed the shrimp in cold water; which having been done, it made gibes at them and swam away, saying: "I am too clever for creatures like you all."

(k) Hearing its gibes and taunts, they all got very angry and asked the elephant to suck up the water wherein the shrimp was living. This he did till the

river was dry. Then they captured the shrimp and killed it.

(1) Then they gave the dead shrimp to a toad to get it cooked by him.

Shortly afterwards, they enquired of the toad : " Has the shrimp been cooked ? "

The toad replied : " Yes, it has been cooked and is ready to be served up."

They thereupon said : " Do be good enough to carve it for us."

Instead of giving them the shrimp-meat, the toad gave them only the shrimp-broth.

Thereupon all of them enquired of the toad : " Where is the meat of the shrimp ? "

To this the toad replied : " Old fellows ! in tasting the flavour of the meat, I accidentally swallowed the whole of the shrimp."

At this, all of them got very cross, pinched the toad on the back, and then left that place.

Since then, toads have got on their backs warts caused by the pinching.¹

Now the most interesting feature of the foregoing Aimol Accumulation Droll or Cumulative Folktale is its ætiological character; that is to say, it accounts for the origin of the physical peculiarity of an animal, which peculiarity, in the present case, is the warts on the toad's back.

Curiously enough, there is current among another Tibeto-Burman race of people, namely, the Mikirs of Assam, a similar Accumulation Droll of an ætiological character. This Mikir Cumulative Folktale, which is

¹ The literal English translation of this Aimol Accumulation Droll is given at pp. 224-225 of Part III of Vol. III of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*. I have, however, given, in this paper, the narrative in my own words so as to bring out the full folklore significance of the story.

entitled: "*The Story of a Frog*," and which gives an account of the origin of the grey spots on a frog's body, and of the thin and slim waist of the ant, is as follows:—

(1) Once upon a time, a large black ant was carrying a meal of rice for his uncle.

(2) A frog, who was sitting in the road, told the ant: "You must creep under me. Otherwise I won't let you pass."

(3) Accordingly the ant crept under the frog. Thereupon the frog sat down flat upon the ant's back. This made the ant cross and caused him to give a sharp nip to the frog's loins.

(4) This made the frog angry and caused him to jump upon an old squirrel's ladder which, in consequence thereof, got broken to pieces.

(5) At this, the old squirrel got cross and cut in twain the stem of a gourd-creeper (which had a gourd-fruit growing on it).

(6) At this, the gourd-fruit got angry and fell plump upon the back of a wild boar.

(7) At this, the wild boar became cross and uprooted a plantain tree.

(8) At this, the plantain tree became angry, fell upon a sparrow's nest, and broke it.

(9) At this, the sparrow got cross and flew into the ear of a deaf elephant.

(10) This angered the deaf elephant and caused him to dig up a rock.

(11) This made the rock cross and caused it to roll down, fall upon a Rājā's son, and to kill him.

(a) Thereupon the Rājā began to try the case with a view to punish the delinquent who was responsible for bringing about his son's death.

He said; "Who has killed my son?"

The parties assembled there replied: "O Rājā! it's the rock that rolled down, fell upon your son, and killed him."

(b) Thereupon the Rājā summoned the rock and enquired of it: "Rock, rock! why did you roll down, fall upon my son, and kill him?"

The rock replied: "O Rājā! how could I help rolling down, falling upon your son, and killing him? The deaf elephant dug me up and pushed me. So I rolled down, fell upon your son, and killed him."

(c) Thereupon the Rājā summoned the elephant and enquired of him: "O elephant! why did you dig up the rock?"

The elephant replied: "O Rājā! how could I help digging up the rock? As the sparrow flew into my ear, I became maddened with rage; and so I dug up the rock."

(d) Thereupon the Rājā summoned the sparrow and asked of him: "O sparrow! why did you fly into the elephant's ear?"

The sparrow replied: "O Rājā! how could I help flying into the elephant's ear? As the plantain tree fell upon my nest and demolished it, I became greatly troubled in mind; and so I flew into the elephant's ear."

(e) Thereupon the Rājā summoned the plantain tree and enquired of it: "O plantain tree! why did you fall upon the sparrow's nest and break it?"

The plantain tree replied: "O Rājā! how could I help falling upon the sparrow's nest and breaking it? As the wild boar uprooted me, and as I had no roots whereby to stand, I was obliged, to fall down upon the sparrow's nest and break it."

(f) Thereupon the Rājā summoned the wild boar and asked him: "O wild boar! why did you uproot the plantain tree?"

The wild boar replied: "O Rājā! how could I help uprooting the plantain tree? As the gourd dropped down plump upon my back, I was agonized with pain; and so I uprooted the plantain tree."

(g) Thereupon the Rājā summoned the gourd, and enquired of it: "O gourd! why did you fall down upon the wild boar's back?"

The gourd replied: "O Rājā! how could I help falling down upon the wild boar's back? As the squirrel cut through the stem whereby I held on to the creeper, I was obliged to fall down upon the wild boar's back."

(h) Thereupon the Rājā summoned the squirrel and asked him: "O squirrel! why did you cut through the stem of the gourd?"

The squirrel replied: "O Rājā! how could I help cutting through the stem of the gourd? The frog jumped on to my ladder and thereby broke it. As I had no means of exit, I was obliged to cut through the stem of the gourd-creeper."

(i) Thereupon the Rājā summoned the frog and enquired: "O frog! why did you jump on to the squirrel's ladder and, thereby, break it?"

The frog replied: "O Rājā! how could I help jumping on to the squirrel's ladder and, thereby, breaking it? A large black ant stung me severely on the loins with its mandibles. Smarting under the pain of the sting, I lost all control over myself; and so I was obliged to jump on to the squirrel's ladder and thereby to break it."

(j) Thereupon the Rājā summoned the ant and enquired of it: "O ant! why did you sting the frog severely on the loins?"

The ant replied: "O Rājā! how could I help stinging the frog on the loins? I was carrying a meal of rice

for my uncle. The frog stopped me and said: "I won't let you pass on. So you must creep under me." I was, therefore, obliged to creep under him. As soon as I had done so, he sat down flat upon my back. It is for this reason that I stung him severely on the loins with my mandibles."

(k) Taking all the facts and circumstances into his consideration, the Rājā decided that both the ant and the frog were equally responsible for his son's death. Therefore, by way of punishing them, he tied the ant tightly round the waist with a hair of a man's head. It is for this reason that, since then, the ant's waist is very thin and slim. Thereafter the frog was beaten severely with the stinging nettle. It is on account of this that, since that time, the frog's body has become spotted all over.¹

The following comparative statement of the incidents in the Aimol Accumulation Droll and the Mikir Cumulative Folktale will show how great is the similarity between the two stories:—

Numbers and descriptions of the incidents in the Aimol Accumulation Droll.	Numbers and descriptions of the corresponding incidents in the Mikir Cumulative Folktale.
1. A shrimp stung a man.	
2. The man cut down a tree.	5. The squirrel cut down a creeper.
3. The tree dropped down a fruit upon the back of a cock.	6. The creeper dropped down its fruit upon the back of a wild boar.
4. The cock dug out an ants' nest.	
5. The ants stung a snake.	3. An ant bit a frog.
6. The snake stung a boar.	
7. The boar uprooted a plantain tree.	7. The wild boar uprooted a plantain tree.

¹ The above version is an abridged one made by me from the literal English translation of the Mikir Cumulative Folktale which is published at pages 46-48 of *The Mikirs* by E. Stack, London: David Nutt. 1908.

Numbers and descriptions of the incidents in the Aimol Accumulation Droll.

8. A bat, which lived in the plantain tree, flew into the ear of an elephant.
9. The elephant rolled down a mortar.
10. The mortar fell upon and demolished the house of a widow.

Sequel.

The widow, whose house was demolished, demanded from the delinquents a fine which they refused to pay. The shrimp was ultimately punished with death. The dead shrimp was given to a toad who was ordered to cook it. While cooking it, he gobbled it up. For this misdeed, he was severely pinched by way of punishment. This pinching caused the warts on the toad's back, which have remained ever since then.

Numbers and descriptions of the corresponding incidents in the Mikir Cumulative Folktale.

8. The plantain tree fell upon and broke the nest of a sparrow.
9. The sparrow flew into the ear of an elephant.
10. The elephant dug up a rock.
11. The rock fell upon and killed the son of a Rājā.

Sequel.

The Rājā, whose son had been killed, tried all the delinquents and adjudged both the ant and the frog to be guilty. They were both punished; the frog being, by way of punishment, beaten with the stinging nettle. This biting caused the grey spots on the frog's body, which have remained ever since then.

I am of opinion that the Aimol version of the folktale is the original and that the Mikirs borrowed the story from the Aimols, gave it a local coloring of their own, and tacked on to it Hindu ideas, as is evidenced by the introduction thereto of a Rājā, instead of their tribal chieftain.

The story-radical, which is deducible from the foregoing Aimol and Mikir Accumulation Drolls, is as follows:—

(1) An animal or a plant hurts another animal or plant, or causes injury to the latter's property, and thereby angers the latter.

(2) The latter animal or plant, in its fit of anger, hurts a third animal or plant, or causes injury to the third party's property, and thereby angers the third party.

(3) Other animals or plants act in the same way, till the last animal, in its fit of anger, throws down a heavy object which falls upon and injures a man's property or kills the latter's son.

(4) An enquiry is held; and the animal or animals, who are primarily responsible for the loss of property or the death, are punished.

We shall now see whether the aforementioned story-radical of the Aimol and the Mikir Accumulation Drolls fits into any one of the three undermentioned Types which have been formulated by the Folklore Society of London¹:—

“68. *Titty Mouse Type* :

1. Animals act in partnership; one dies, the other mourns.

2. Other objects mourn in sympathy till there is universal calamity.”

“69. *Old Woman and Pig Type* :

1. Old woman cannot get pig over stile; she asks dog, stick, fire, water, ox, butcher, rope, rat, cat to help her.

2. Cat does so on condition, and sets rest in motion till pig jumps over stile.”

“70. *Henny-Penny Type* :

1. Hen thinks sky is falling, goes to tell king, meets cock, goose, turkey.

2. At last they meet fox, who leads them to his own den and eats them up.”

¹ *The Handbook of Folklore.* By C. S. Burne. Printed for the Folk-Lore Society by Sidgwick and Jackson, Limited, 1914, p. 355.

We find that the story-radical of the Aimol and the Mikir Accumulation Drolls does not fit into any one of the aforementioned three Types. I am, therefore, of opinion that the Aimol and the Mikir Cumulative Folktales belong to an altogether new type which I have named "*The Man and the Shrimp Type*."

Akin to the foregoing Cumulative Folktales is the following Burmese Accumulation Droll which is entitled:

"*The Drop of Honey*":

(1) Once upon a time, a king let fall a wee little drop of honey on the floor of his palace.

(2) Seeing the drop of honey, a fly flew down to sip it.

(3) Seeing the fly, a lizard, which was lying close by, gobbled it up.

(4) Seeing the lizard, a cat, which was close at hand, killed it.

(5) Seeing the cat, a dog killed it.

(6) Seeing that the dog had killed his cat, the owner of the cat beat it severely with a stick and broke its ribs.

(7) Seeing that the cat's owner had mercilessly beaten his dog, the dog's master drew his dah and, with it, slew the former.

(8) Thereupon the friends of the murdered owner of the cat attacked the murderer whose friends, in their turn, attacked the former. Thereupon a bloody fight ensued in which many were wounded and many were killed.

(9) Seeing this bloody fight, the king, at the head of his guards, rushed into the *meleē* in order to separate the two parties of combatants. But, instead of being able to do so, he himself was slain by a member of one of the parties.

(10) On the death of the king, civil war broke out in his kingdom. In the course of this war, many people were slain, and the whole country was devastated.

(11) Seeing that the kingdom had been greatly weakened by the civil war, a neighbouring king attacked it and very easily conquered it.¹

The story-radical, which is deducible from the foregoing Burmese Cumulative Folktale, is as follows :—

(1) One animal kills another ; then the first one is killed by a third ; and so on.

(2) Then the owner of the last animal killed, severely beats the animal that killed his animal.

(3) Then the owner of the chastised animal kills the man who chastised his animal.

(4) Then the partisans of the murdered man and of the murderer engage in a bloody fight in which the king of the country is killed.

(5) On this, civil war breaks out in, and weakens the country which is finally conquered by another king.

We find that this story-radical does not fit into any one of the aforementioned four types.

We are, therefore, of opinion that the foregoing Burmese Cumulative Folktale belongs to an altogether new type which I have named "*The Drop of Honey Type*."

We hope that the storiologists of Europe and America will accept the two new story-radicals which I have formulated *supra*.

¹ Abridged from the English translation of the Burmese folktale which is published at pages 109-111 of *Fairy Tales and Legends of Burma* by J. S. M. Ward. London : Blackie and Son, Limited, 1916.

The Kahun Sothic-Rising, II

By

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, at p. 169—while rightly rejecting Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie's suggestion that the 12th Romic (Ancient "Egyptian") dynasty should be pushed back a whole Sōthic period, yet unable to see exactly eye to eye with those who hold that the dynasty commenced somewhere about B. C. 2000, whom, however, he says he follows "in a modified form"—Dr. H. R. Hall sums up thus—

"In the present writer's view, there must have been some mistake in the original observation of the star... .. Until the astronomical date is confirmed by another recorded observation in another reign, we are not justified in assuming that the XIIth Dynasty ended so late as 1788 B. C., or even 70 years earlier. Provisionally it would seem best to assume the round date 2000 B. C. for the end of Dynasty XII. This would satisfy all the requirements of our other knowledge. But it must be borne in mind that the majority of writers accept the later date which it seems difficult to reconcile with the facts."

As regards these "facts"—the reference being to all that lies between the 12th and the 18th dynasties—the enquirer may very usefully read what Professor Breasted has to say on the subject (*History of Egypt*, c. xi).

Dr. Hall's suggestion that "there must have been some mistake in the original observation of the star," can be readily disposed of. Such a mistake is at least highly improbable. We are not given merely a bare date.

Associated with it is also a good deal of supplementary information. The Rising is said to have taken place in the 7th regnal year of Senwosri III of the 12th dynasty (otherwise known as Senusert III, or Usert-Sen III), and in the 120th ordinary year of the dynasty itself. Moreover, we are told that the second king of the dynasty, Senwosri I, in his third regnal year (which was B.C. $1968\frac{3}{4}\frac{5}{8}\frac{8}{10}$), decided to erect a temple to the Sun-god at On, and that, at the beginning of a *Sed*-period (one fell in B.C. $1964\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{8}\frac{9}{10}$), the foundations of this temple were completed. All these conditions must be satisfied in any determination of what we consider to be the correct date of the occurrence. And the result must dove-tail into what we know of general history. The calendar date mentioned in the priestly report is "the 15th day of the 8th month." In this connection we can base our calculations either on the so-called Solar-Year calendar, or on the Sōthic-Year calendar. By the former, which starts with 0-1 Thoth on the Natural Clock at the Celestial Summer Solstice, the 15th of the 8th month means the 15th of Pharmūthi. By the latter, which starts with 0-1 Epiphi on the Natural Clock, *i. e.*, from 30 Ariēs, the 15th of the 8th month means the 15th of Mekhir.

Now, Dr. Hall himself does not dispute the usually accepted Sōthic period in which the 12th dynasty flourished; so that, in that respect, we know where we are. First, then, let us take the 15th day of Pharmūthi, and (setting down all Sōthic-Risings from 0, as they occur during *any* cycle based on a Spheroid, or Year-form, of $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$), ascertain precisely where it falls in the cycle, *i. e.*, its exact cyclical value in spheroidal years.

On the basis of the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, which gives a cycle of 1,461 spheroidal years, the Risings (occurring annually 4 times successively on each calendar day) are

represented, per day, by $4\frac{28}{480}$ spheroidal years, and, per month, by $121\frac{360}{480}$ spheroidal years. Thus, we have--

Thoth	...	1-30	$121\frac{360}{480}$
Paōphi	...	1-30	$121\frac{360}{480}$
Athyr	...	1-30	$121\frac{360}{480}$
Khoiak	...	1-30	$121\frac{360}{480}$
Tybi	...	1-30	$121\frac{360}{480}$
Mekhir	...	1-30	$121\frac{360}{480}$
Phamenōth	...	1-30	$121\frac{360}{480}$
			<hr/>
			$852\frac{120}{480}$
Pharmūthi	...	1-15	$60\frac{420}{480}$
			<hr/>
			$913\frac{60}{480}$

The cyclical value, then, of 15th Pharmūthi, in spheroidal years, is $913\frac{60}{480}$. Or rather, that is the last member of the quadrennium for 15th Pharmūthi, which is—

$$\begin{array}{r} 910\frac{39}{480} \\ 911\frac{46}{480} \\ 912\frac{53}{480} \\ 913\frac{60}{480} \end{array}$$

To this $913\frac{60}{480}$ we must next add 1,461 spheroidal years for the preceding Sōthic Cycle. Thereby we get $2374\frac{60}{480}$. Finally, subtract this from the second highest Sōthic Coincidence-date—which, as I explained in a previous paper, was what we would now call B. C. 4241 $\frac{198}{480}$ —and the result, according to modern reckoning, is B. C. 1867 $\frac{138}{480}$. Or, alternatively, we may subtract $913\frac{60}{480}$ itself from the next lowest Sōthic Coincidence-date, B. C. 2780 $\frac{198}{480}$.

If, on the other hand, we base our calculations, not on the Solar-Year calendar, but on the Sōthic-Year calendar, we find that 15th Mekhir, Sōthic, equates with 18th Khoiak, Solar, and that the cyclical value of 15th Mekhir,

Sōthic, in spheroidal years, is accordingly $438\frac{144}{480}$. Or rather, that is the last member of the quadrennium for the equation 15th Mekhir, Sōthic-18th Khoiak, Solar, which is—

	$435\frac{123}{480}$
	$436\frac{130}{480}$
	$437\frac{137}{480}$
	$438\frac{144}{480}$
Then we have—	
	$438\frac{144}{480}$
Add for the 60 days between Paōni and	
Thoth	$243\frac{240}{480}$
	<hr/>
	$681\frac{384}{480}$
Add also difference between the Solar	
and the Sōthic Years	$231\frac{156}{480}$
	<hr/>
	$913\frac{60}{480}$

This is our old friend *supra*, which, as already seen, gives us B. C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$, when deducted from the Coincidence-date, B. C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$.

On the above basis the 12th Romic dynasty, as founded by Amen-em-hāt I, began in B. C. $1988\frac{11}{480}$, and ended with Sebekneferū-rā in B. C. $1776\frac{475}{480}$. Not only do the figures thus found accord with the statement that the year of the Rising on the 15th day of the 8th month was the 120th ordinary year of the dynasty, with the information about Senwosri I's temple at On, and with the ending of the dynasty about the epoch arrived at by most writers (which would have been impossible had there been any mistake in the reported observation), but they provide all that, on a reasonable estimate of our data of knowledge, is demanded in the way of time for the interval between the close of the 12th dynasty and the Expulsion of the so-called Hyksōs.

On the principles which I am trying to establish Āhmēs I, the Founder of the 18th dynasty, acceded in B.C. $1571\frac{14}{480}$. Probably the expulsion of the Hyksōs was considerably later than that—for hostilities must have been in progress for some time after his actual accession. But even from B.C. $1776\frac{475}{480}$ to B.C. $1571\frac{14}{480}$ gives us $205\frac{461}{480}$ spheroidal years—double the time (100 years) that so careful and sagacious a scholar as Breasted says is “ample for the whole period”! (*History of Egypt*, p. 221).

Vol. I of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, alluded to above, though very readable, is in many respects a disappointing publication. For one thing, it represents, not so much the last word in generally accepted doctrine, as a collection of individual views—being permeated through and through with the somewhat pernicky and often by no means convincing views of one contributor in particular. Throughout, there is a great display of erudition in the work; but much of it is niggling. Also, the various chapters are markedly unequal in quality. The chapters by Professor Myres, of course, are brilliant and fascinating. But, his contributions apart, the treatment of broad, basic questions—*e.g.*, the origin and developments of the “Semitic” and other kindred autochthons of the Great Central Zone—is largely old-fashioned, erratic, and unsatisfactory. On certain points that, to some, are specially interesting, and seem to be important, one eagerly searches for enlightenment, or at least for some expression of opinion, however halting, or even conventional—but only to find they are not even mentioned. The index, too, might be better than it is.

Speaking generally, a great deal of what we are taught to believe about the past would more resemble the probable truth if it were ruthlessly uprooted and turned exactly upside down. At the same

time, much of it is unquestionably invaluable as a baseline from which to start further research. Nevertheless, what the world wants to-day is a wider, more intelligent, and more independent outlook ; more adventurous exploration of the uncharted realms of Nescience ; fewer academical essays, more or less inadequately re-stating things that the writer has read or heard before, in "prescribed" or otherwise "recognized" books, or from "authoritative" lips, but containing absolutely nothing in the shape of an original idea, except, perhaps, a re-hash of something which, though outrageously ridiculous, is yet weighted with a popular appeal—not only not discountenanced, openly or otherwise, but often actually encouraged, though *sub rosa*, even by the presumably Enlightened ; less elaborate and finical discussion, however "scholarly," of the ostensible complexities and difficulties (really the absurdities and impossibilities) of whiskered old dogmas, once dear to the hearts of our Early Victorian forebears, but now as decrepit as their theological congeners ; less make-believe Erudition and blotting-paper mentality ; abandonment of the worship, as a fetish, of meticulous local skull-measurements and similar futilities ; less classification of present ethnic stocks by reference to hypothetical distributions in remotely ancient, *e.g.*, Neolithic, times ; less demand for proof in that so-called "scientific" form which appeals only to the physical senses ; and, above everything, a mighty, all-staggering in-blow of fresh, life-giving ideas from all quarters of the mental horizon—not even excluding imaginal regions. Whatever outlasts the hurricane will probably be worthy of survival. Whatever vanishes into the *Unbekannt* need never be deplored.

Mythology and Geological Time

BY

H. BRUCE HANNAH

Relying largely on the statements of fact and the hypotheses set forth in *Creation Records*, by George St. Clair, I have hitherto regarded Ptāh, "the Opener," as the earliest and greatest of the Superior Gods in the old Romic pantheon, and as having been enthroned in *Dhrūvic* regions for a considerable time—St. Clair suggests over 500 years—before the advent of divers other *régimes* which he associates with the successive names of Rā I, Luni-ʿsirīs, Rā II, Ptāh-Sokaris, and the Younger Horus. Recently, however, I have begun to doubt the correctness of these views, ably and attractively though they are propounded. A paper that I have just written, entitled "Problems in Ancient 'Egyptian' Chronology," contains a reference on the old lines to Ptāh as the Polar-God, and I wanted to modify it in accordance with my changed opinions, but unfortunately the paper had already been printed for publication. It is with the new and wider ideas which I thus wished to substitute in a final proof that I am here concerned; but naturally I now propose to deal with them at greater length. In the first place, though a Lunar *régime* of a sort is vaguely referred to in *Creation Records* the various *régimes* there treated of are practically only *régimes* connected with the days when Sun-worship was in vogue. Secondly, the order in which the *régimes* mentioned succeeded each other, is an exceedingly difficult problem, and I question whether St. Clair's solution fits in with all the complex facts that are perpetually coming to light.

Thirdly, the *Ātūm régime*, whatever it was, appears to be entitled to a very early and prominent place in the presentation of the succession ; and from this point of view St. Clair's subject strikes me as being most inadequate.

Moreover, other considerations urge me to revise the general conception I have up till now entertained of Romic mythology in its earlier stages. Antiquity, as associated with primitive Man and the origin and developments of civilization, is a very much bigger thing than we have heretofore supposed it to be. I am not now alluding to the egregiously ridiculous idea by which even enlightened minds were obsessed not so very long ago, that the world was created *circa* B. C. 6000, but to the almost equally absurd notion that Civilization cannot be assigned an earlier date than (roughly) the opening of the Tauric Era—*i. e.*, somewhere around B. C. 4000. Even recent archæological discoveries in Crete, and elsewhere in Mediterranean regions, Southern Europe, and so forth—opening up the past as far back as c. B. C. 10000, or even perhaps 20000—do not get rid of a thought that here presses insistently for recognition. That thought is that, in regard to chronology, as associated with ancient humanity and the developments if not the origin of Civilization, so exceedingly remote in their possible significations are the early stages of Mythology (Romic or other), and so exceedingly indefinite is all that induces surmise in such connections, that our investigations and musings can only reasonably proceed on the basis of what is called GEOLOGICAL TIME. Nothing less will adequately meet the facts that are now daily challenging our intelligent appreciation.

In particular—if we wish to understand Mythology—we must plunge into the Past far back beyond Sun-worship, and even beyond Moon-worship ; in fact, we must penetrate to the days of Sabaism.

In former papers, dealing with early ethnic origins, I have spoken of the Earth as being divisible into 3 main Zones—the Northern Zone, the Central Zone, and the Southern Zone. The Northern Zone may be regarded as having been for ages the area of characterization of Xantho-Leukochroic Man, or the Yellows, originally of Angara; the Central Zone as the area of characterization of Melano-Leukochroic Man, or the Dark-Whites; and the Southern Zone as the area of characterization of Melanochroic Man, or the Blacks. This of course, refers to that configuration of the land-areas and water-areas of the Globe with which we are at present acquainted, and which has been as it is now throughout human memory.

Sun-worship was once very widespread. Evidences of it are to be found, if not all over the world, at least throughout the Great Central Zone—the area of characterization of the Dark-Whites—practically the Civilization Line. It was also an exceedingly ancient cult. How long it was in vogue, nobody knows. Probably, however, it is only associable with the Great Central Zone. Its predecessor was Moon-worship—a cult which was in vogue for a period even longer than that of Sun-worship. Possibly it also is only associable with the Great Central Zone. Then, before Moon-worship, was Star-worship—a cult which, there is reason to believe, endured for a period very much longer than even that of Moon-worship—perhaps for millions of years. Assuming this, it follows that throughout the greater portion of the Stellar-age the Earth, physiographically, was probably very different from what we see it to be to-day. Geology supports this conclusion.

In Pirsson and Schuchert's *Text-book of Geology* we read of a time—as far back as early in the Permian, or last, sub-period of the Palæozoic or Primary Era—when

there were practically only two principal continental masses, one North, and the other South. The Northern mass ran transversely and almost continuously round the northern hemisphere. The Southern mass, ring-shaped, resembled a stupendous atoll, enclosing a huge lagoon-like ocean; and, based in Antarctica, it filled up the Southern hemisphere. It has been called GONDWANALAND (the Gondwānaland of Neumayr, 1883, Suess, 1885, and the zoogeographers); and not only did the upper regions and shoulders of its hoop embrace what we now know as S. America, Africa, more than the southern half of Arabia, India, and Australia, but beyond India it extended northwards as far as parts of what later were named Tibet and the Karakoram range. The only region where there was contact between these 2 great Northern and Southern continental masses was in the neighbourhood of what are now known as Morocco, Algiers, and Spain, and as far eastwards as Sardinia. Otherwise, North and South were separated by vast marine-areas—in the W. the Atlantic as it then was, and in the E. the great sea called by geologists Tēthys.

Now, if what anthropologists and geologists tell us has any basis in fact or reason, though *Homo Sapiens* (probably at first Pygmy Humanity) was not descended from the Anthropoid Ape, yet Man and the Man-like Apes were all descended from some still remoter, pre-Simian common ancestor. As Pygmies, Lemurs, and Anthropoids are all roughly divisible into 2 main groups—an Asiatic group, and an African group—we may reasonably assume that one of these groups, the African group, either evolved, from its earliest beginnings, in the equatorial regions of that part of archæan Gondwānaland which embraced what we now call Africa—regions where that group is actually found,

and where, it would seem, the original true Pygmies had their area of characterization—or else, after a sort of *Volk-Wanderung* period, ultimately found its way to and settled down in those equatorial regions. As for the other group, the Asiatic group, its distribution is said to be mainly oceanic, which means that they are natural denizens of the South—a fact which accords very well with the Gondwānaland hypothesis of the geologists. We find the African Pygmies, then, confronting their further destiny in equatorial Africa—living there in curious amity with their age-long associates and travelling-chums, the lemurs and anthropoid apes. If we may accept the statement of Dr. Albert Churchward, M. D., etc. (author of *Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man*, and other works), it was from these regions, too—somewhere about the sources of the Nile—that the Pygmies eventually migrated northwards, and then spread out in all directions—ultimately developing into the primitive ethnai who first entered upon the path of human progress. The idea is certainly attractive. They *could* have passed into the Northern continent by the invitingly broad Morocco-Algiers-Hispano-Sardinian highway to which I have already alluded as the only point of contact between the two great land-masses of those archæan times. Indeed, denizens of that part of Gondwānaland (the part which then embraced Africa) were the only creatures in the world (human or otherwise) who were in a position to migrate from South to North, or who were reasonably likely ever to think of doing so. The possibility, therefore, and perhaps even the probability, of the migration being thus assumed, let us now follow the idea out to its logical conclusions. In their equatorial homeland the Pygmies under notice must have been familiar with the sight of one apparently fixed orb

(the N. Pole-star) twinkling on the horizon to their North, and another (the S. Pole-star) twinkling similarly on the horizon to their South; while overhead, of course, they nightly beheld the glittering vision of the main body of the stellar hosts sweeping majestically across the heavens. These were possibly the days of "Herū of the Two Horizons." But what did they see after they had crossed the land-bridge? As they got farther and farther north, the Antarctic Pole-star and its revolving sidereal *entourage* would have disappeared from view, but the Northern Pole-star and the constellations ceaselessly circling round it would have been a spectacle becoming ever more and more fascinating. In those remote days some star other than Polaris (*α Ursae Minoris*) would have been the Pole-star for the time being; so that we cannot assume that the Little Bear (eventually called by the Romiū *Anpū*, and by the Egyptians *Anūbis*) presented then to them the same appearance that it now does to us, and which it must have presented even to the Egyptians. Nevertheless, they did notice it as a constellation consisting of 7 stars. But a still more impressive sight was Ta-Urt, or Apt, the Hippopotamus constellation—Ursa Major, or the Great Bear, perhaps bigger than it is now—which also had 7 principal stars that revolved round the Pole-star for the time being. Hence the expression "the Seven Glorious Ones." For some reason that is not obvious these 7 stars of Ursa Major seem to have been regarded as Pole-stars—though when and amongst whom this quaint view originated is also not clear. Later on, to the 7, the actual Pole-star for the time being was added, and the whole received the name of "the Eight." This could not have referred to Ursa Minor, because there the Pole-star for the time being—in this case Polaris—was and is itself one of the 7, and the name "the Eight" would have been both

inappropriate and impossible. Still later it was realized that, besides the original 7 Glorious Ones, there were 5 more temporary Pole-stars—possibly the 5 known to us now as Alderamin, Deneb, Vega, Thuban, and Polaris, which last is still ruling. Then, as $5+7=12$, there eventually evolved the idea of an abstract sphere, having 12 divisions equating with 12 Moon-periods of about 30 nights or days each. Hence the Zōdiac of 360° —*i. e.* 12×30 . Did this conception originate with the Pygmies? If it did, it must have been in connection with Ursa Major. Their period was too remote for it to have arisen in connection with Ursa Minor as revolving round Polaris. In any case, their cult was Stellar; the actual Pole-star for the time being, and Ta-Urt (Genetrix of Cycles) as circling round it hand-wise, constituted their Clock; the calendar opened when her tail pointed South, to the country of their origin; and over all they regarded her son, Horus (Sebek-headed, or Crocodile-headed, *i. e.*, perhaps Draco-headed), anciently Lord of the two horizons, each with its separate Pole-star, and now personifying the opening of the Year and Cycle, as divinely presiding—God of the Polar regions.

How long this sojourn of the migrated Pygmies in Septentrional latitudes lasted, we have no means of judging. All we know, or can treat as knowledge, is what we learn from the geologists. Doubtless, however, they dwelt there sufficiently long to inaugurate the evolution of an apparently distinct ethnic stock, which undoubtedly came into existence somehow—those slant-eyed Yellows of Angara who for ages have been specially and traditionally associated with the Northern Zone. This is a necessary assumption; either this, or that the Yellows of the Angaran North originated independently, and the immigrant Pygmies amalgamated

with them, and so gave rise to the Dark-Whites, of whom more presently.

In Pirsson and Schuchert's *Geology*, at p. 759, a map is given of what geologists imagine the configuration of Earth's land and water-areas to have been in remote Gondwānaland times. Millions of years, however, steal by, and at last Gondwānaland breaks up. But who knows when this portentous event began, or how long the breaking-up process lasted? Possibly it commenced in what we call Jurassic days, and possibly whatever dissolution took place had been completed early in the Cretaceous period. On p. 891 of their book, Pirsson and Schuchert give us another map of what, in the opinion of geologists, the world looked like when old Gondwānaland had vanished. There, we see the Great Northern Continent in another aspect—but not by any means the aspect which it presents to-day. South, instead of old Gondwānaland we note a number of isolated land-masses—the originals out of which S. America, Africa, Arabia, India, and Australia, as we know them now, developed. Strange, uncouth-looking shapes they are too. And between them and the Great Northern Continent, there now stretches a vastly augmented world of waters—owing, no doubt, to the upward surge of the liberated ocean that had formerly been enclosed by the Gondwānaland hoop.

Up to this stage, therefore, there are no signs whatever of that Great Central Zone—the area of characterization of the Dark-Whites—which eventually became practically the Civilization-Line. Communication between the Northern Continent and the remnants of what had once been Gondwānaland was more cut off than ever. In other words, intercourse between Pygmy humanity in the North (including the Yellows just referred to) and Black humanity in the South was

practically impossible—except, perhaps, by a great southward extension of Angara *via* Malaysia. India, in any individual form, was not yet born. Together with Tibet, she still, as it were, lurked in the northern half of a bean-shaped islo-continent known as Lemuria¹—one of the relics of disintegrated Gondwānaland. Indeed, portions of her eventual form—*e. g.*, Sapta-Sindhavāḥ in the N. W., and Kāma-Rūpa in the N. E.—actually lay sepulchred in the sea, as just missing inclusion in Northern Lemuria. Not till the southern half of Lemuria fell away and disappeared in the surrounding deep did heart-shaped India come into existence; but how long it was before Sapta-Sindhavāḥ and Assam emerged from their watery-tomb, who can say? As thus evolved, India, of course, was, and for some time remained, a region of wholly Gondwānaland affinities; for it was not till the world of medial marine-waters dried up that she and Tibet took their places as countries thenceforth integrally incorporated into and associated with the northern continental land-areas. In other words, it was not till the complete desiccation of the medial marine-areas (including Tēthys) that the Great Central Zone (as a permanent line of *terra-firma*) attained existence. And it was not till the Dark-Whites from the far West came pouring along this new highway eastwards, eventually settling in India, and there introducing (*inter alia*) their cult of the Great Mother and other forms of goddess-worship, that India and Civilization, such as it then was, became acquainted.

Ages, then, having elapsed, the medial seas separating North and South at last completely disappeared, leaving in their stead the Great Central Zone as a habitable component part of the Northern Continent. It was

¹ Note.—Not the Lemuria alleged to have preceded Atlantis.

then, I imagine, that the people of the Stellar Cult, dwelling in the original North (once the Pygmy immigrants from Gondwānaland-Africa), left their Northern habitats—perhaps driven thence by the on-coming of one of the 4 or 5 Ice-ages—and moved southwards into the pleasanter climes of the newly-formed temperate countries; there, in course of the ensuing centuries, to evolve into those several and seemingly distinct ethnic groups who, under different names, such as “Mediterranean Man,” “the Khemites” (original representatives of both the Hamites and the Shemites, or Aamū), and others more East (*e.g.*, the non-yellow element in the so-called Sumerians), must now be regarded as the autochthons of the Great Central Zone throughout its many longitudes, W. or E.—and all merely varieties of the Dark-White race. In other words, once arrived in that Zone (probably in Mediterranean regions), they used it as a Grand Trunk Road for further migration—thenceforward in an easterly direction. Thus reaching India, their representatives were the first wave of outside humanity to enter that ancient country, and to effect a modification of its original old Gondwānaland stock. When first they arrived in the extreme western, or Mediterranean, section of the Great Central Zone, these migrants from the North were of course Star-worshippers, and the Great Mother, Ta-Urt, or Apt, was one of their principal divinities; and, centuries afterwards, these were still the cults in vogue amongst them when some of them, spreading East, found their way into Gondwānaland India. For some reason or other the worship of the Great Mother and other goddesses subsequently died out there, or rather fell into desuetude; but this theory of how these once-dominant cults originally got into the Gaṅgā-Valley, certainly adds no little interest to the well-known fact that in so-called

Purānic times, which are nevertheless comparatively recent, they sprang once more into general vogue, after a very long interval of *pralāya*. But though these Dark-Whites of the Great Central Zone brought their Star-worship southwards from the North, and even carried it with them and propagated it amongst other peoples in their wanderings, or diffusion, eastward, a time came when, as they themselves developed in volution, physically, intellectually, and spiritually, they altogether abandoned it, in favour first of Moon-worship, and eventually of Sun-worship. No doubt there were transitional stages, and during these it is very probable that mixed Stellar and Lunar cults, or mixed Lunar and Solar cults, and even perhaps other minor cults, were in vogue.

Reverting to what I said *supra* about the supposed original 7 Pole-stars, then the 8, and finally the 12, and therewith the dawn of the conception of the Zōdiac of 360° with its 12 signs, divisions, or *rāsīs*, it would be both interesting and useful to know definitely how many temporary Pole-stars for the Precession-period there really are. Are they only the 5 we read of—Alderamin, Deneb, Vega, Thūban, and Polaris—all situate on one and the same side of the Celestial Sphere? Or are there others for the opposite side of that Sphere? Also, what was the approximate date when Polaris succeeded Thūban as ruling Pole-star? When did Thūban attain that rank, as succeeding to Vega? In short, what were the respective periods of all those 5, or of the complete series, if more than 5? Taking the Pole-stars as only 5, certainly seems to support what we are now taught, *viz.*, that their periods are long and irregular. And yet, on the sphere, Alderamin, Deneb, Vega, and Thūban all stand at intervals of practically 30° —a fact which would be more understandable if the Pole-stars were 12, as

showing that the period of each about equals the duration of a Zōdiacal division. At the same time, it is disconcerting to note that Polaris's Right Ascension (235°) is only 5° removed from that of Thūban (240°).

Be all this as it may, one thing appears tolerably clear. Throughout the age-long Stellar *régime*, not Ptāh, but Horus (the Crocodile-headed son of Ta-Urt, the Great Mother or Genetrix), was the reigning Polar Divinity. Moreover, with the next *régime*, Moon-worship, Ptāh had nothing whatever to do. Hence, it seems a reasonable inference that not till Sun-worship had come into vogue—perhaps not till that cult was well-established throughout the Great Central Zone—did Ptāh make his *début* as a prominent member of the ancient Romic pantheon.

In conclusion, the arrival in India of that first flood of outside humanity which—in the persons of the Dark-Whites from the West—burst or oozed through her north-weastern borders and modified the pristine Gondwānaland simplicity of her dusky denizens, was an event which took place countless thousands of years ago. It was immeasurably removed from those so-called Vedic times which have hitherto been conventionally associated with the somewhat similar advent of the 5 *janāhs* commonly known as the Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs and Drūhyūs. As a matter of fact, their day was comparatively modern. Nor had it anything to do with the *durchbruch*, or perchance the “peaceful diffusion,” into Sapta-Sindhavāḥ of those somewhat earlier immigrants from the wilds of “Wolf-lands”—the Kāssi-descended Tokhs, or Dahyūs, who in Sanskrit are generally called the *Dasyūs*. What sort of culture—other than the cults of the Great Mother and goddess-worship—the Dark-Whites brought with them and introduced amongst the Gondwānaland aborigines

of archaic India, nobody now can say. All we know is that it must have been very different from the culture, or cultures, introduced by the 5 *janāhs* above-named; and *a fortiori* very different from that other and vaguer but more resplendent culture which is usually denominated Āryan culture, and which even enlightened Indians of the present day and certain European scholars so persistently associate with the 5 *janāhs*—though who and what these latter were, whence they came, and in particular the fact that they were not Āryas at all, can be very easily demonstrated, as also can the true origin, character, and career of the Dasyūs, and their *exoteric* interpretation and manipulation of certain *esoteric* Truths even then inherited from a remoter antiquity—resulting in the appearance of the Rig-Veda and other *samhitās*, as they came into the hands of the Madhyādeśans, and concurrently the inauguration of Caste and Historical Brāhmanism, and the manufacture of Sanskrit out of the highly elaborate and refined old living language of those ancient Rosy-Blonds who, in neighbouring Airyānia (formerly Airyavō-Vaējo), had once upon a time known the Dasyūs as the Dahyūs of wilderness Airyo-Tūrān.

The Kahun Sothic-Rising

I

BY

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In my recent paper on "Problems in Ancient 'Egyptian' Chronology" I showed that by modern reckoning, *i. e.*, on the basis of the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid, the true date of the Sōthic Rising which occurred in the 7th regnal year of Senwosri III of the 12th Romic Dynasty was B. C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$, and, by way of checking that result, I pointed out that, as the Sōthic Year began with Epiphi on the Fixed Clock of Nature, the so-styled "8th month" would, by that system, have been Mekhir. Then, referring to a harmonization which I had suggested of the Solar and Sōthic Years, wherein 4 Epiphi, Sōthic, equates with 1 Thoth, Solar, I noticed that 15 Mekhir, Sōthic, would have equated with 18 Khoiak, Solar. The quadrennium for that equation, I said, was—

$$435\frac{123}{480}$$

$$436\frac{130}{480}$$

$$437\frac{137}{480}$$

$$438\frac{144}{480}$$

Out of these, I suggested, let us first select the second member, $436\frac{130}{480}$. Add 1461, and we get $1897\frac{130}{480}$. To this again, I said, we must add $239\frac{912}{480}$ spheroidal years, representing on the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid 59 days that lay between 2 Epiphi (a date chosen for their own purposes by the old Romic priests) and 0—1

Thoth, the point with which the Solar Year started. Thereby we get $2136\frac{342}{480}$. Subtract this from Conventional B.C. 4004, and the remainder is B.C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$.

But there are other ways of checking our result ; and I now give them, by way of supplementing what I stated in my recent paper.

For instance, to original $436\frac{130}{480}$, besides the extra 1461 spheroidal years for the preceding Cycle, and in lieu of $239\frac{212}{480}$ as above, add also (by way of Solarizing the Cycle to which $436\frac{130}{480}$ belongs) $243\frac{240}{480}$ for the 60 days stretching between F. 30 Paōni and F. 0—1 Thoth, on the basis of the $365\frac{1}{4}$ Spheroid, *i. e.*, at $1\frac{7}{480}$ each.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 436\frac{130}{480} \\
 + 1461 \\
 \hline
 1897\frac{130}{480} \\
 + 243\frac{240}{480} \\
 \hline
 2140\frac{370}{480}
 \end{array}$$

Subtract this from Sōthic Coincidence-date, B.C. $4239\frac{184}{480}$ (last of its quadrennium), instead of from above Conventional B.C. 4004.

	$4239\frac{184}{480}$
	$- 2140\frac{370}{480}$
	<hr/> $2098\frac{294}{480}$
Then subtract difference between Solar	
and Sōthic Time	$- 231\frac{156}{480}$
	<hr/>
B. C.	$1867\frac{138}{480}$
Or again—	
To original	$436\frac{130}{480}$
add—	$+ 231\frac{156}{480}$
	$+ 243\frac{240}{480}$
	$+ 1461$
	<hr/> $2872\frac{46}{480}$

Subtract this from B. C. $4239\frac{184}{480}$, and the result is B. C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$.

Or again—

To this same $436\frac{130}{480}$ add $231\frac{156}{480}$ and $243\frac{240}{480}$, but do not add another cycle of 1461 spheroidal years. The total is $911\frac{40}{480}$. Subtract this, not from Sōthic B. C. $4239\frac{184}{480}$, but from the last member of its next lowest quadrennial group of Sōthic Coincidence-dates, *i. e.*, B. C. $2778\frac{184}{480}$. The result is B. C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$.

Or again—

Instead of the above $436\frac{130}{480}$, take the last member of its quadrennium, *i. e.*, $438\frac{144}{480}$; but add no cycle of 1461 spheroidal years.

Then we have	...	...	$438\frac{144}{480}$
Add for the 60 days between Paōni and			
Thoth	...	...	$+ 243\frac{240}{480}$
			<hr/>
			$681\frac{384}{480}$
Add difference between the Solar and			
the Sōthic Years	...	...	$+ 231\frac{156}{480}$
			<hr/>
			$913\frac{60}{480}$

Then, instead of subtracting this $913\frac{60}{480}$ from conventional B. C. 4004, or from Sōthic Coincidence-date B. C. $4241\frac{198}{480}$, subtract it from the next lowest Sōthic Coincidence-date, *i. e.* B. C. $2780\frac{193}{480}$ (2nd of its quadrennium), and the result is B. C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$.

Or again—

The “15th day of the 8th month,” Sōthic=15th Mekhir, Sōthic=15th Pharmūthi, Solar. In the general List of Risings, stated in quadrenniums from Cyclical 0—

15th Pharmūthi, Solar= $913\frac{60}{480}$ (last of its quadrennium).

Add 1 Cycle...	...	...	$+ 1461$
			<hr/>
			$2374\frac{60}{480}$

Subtract this from Sōthic Coincidence-date, B. C. $4241\frac{198}{480}$ (2nd of its quadrennium), which is nothing but B. C. $2780\frac{198}{480} + 1461$, and the result is the same—B. C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$.

Or again—

Subtract the same $2374\frac{60}{480}$ from Solar Coincidence-date, B. C. $4472\frac{354}{480}$ (also 2nd of its quadrennium).

$$\begin{array}{r}
 -2374\frac{60}{480} \\
 \hline
 2098\frac{294}{480} \\
 \text{Less } -231\frac{156}{480} \\
 \hline
 \text{B. C. } 1867\frac{138}{480}
 \end{array}$$

Or again—

15th Pharmūthi, Solar = $911\frac{46}{480}$ (2nd of its quadrennium).

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{Add 1 Cycle } +1461 \\
 \hline
 2372\frac{46}{480}
 \end{array}$$

Subtract from Solar Coincidence-date, B. C. $4470\frac{340}{480}$ (last of its quadrennium).

$$\begin{array}{r}
 4470\frac{340}{480} \\
 -2372\frac{46}{480} \\
 \hline
 2098\frac{294}{480} \\
 \text{Less } 231\frac{156}{480} \\
 \hline
 \text{B. C. } 1867\frac{138}{480}
 \end{array}$$

Or again—

Subtract this same $2372\frac{46}{480}$ from Sōthic Coincidence-date, B. C. $4239\frac{184}{480}$ (last of its quadrennium).

$$\begin{array}{r}
 911\frac{46}{480} \\
 +1461 \\
 \hline
 2372\frac{46}{480} \\
 \hline
 4239\frac{184}{480} \\
 -2372\frac{46}{480} \\
 \hline
 \text{B. C. } 1867\frac{138}{480}
 \end{array}$$

In working $437\frac{137}{480}$, or $912\frac{53}{480}$ (3rd of their respective quadrenniums) with Coincidence-dates, Solar or Sōthic, the 3rd of each quadrennium for the latter would be necessary. *E. g.* in the case of $912\frac{53}{480}$, B. C. $4471\frac{347}{480}$, Solar, or B. C. $4240\frac{191}{480}$, Sōthic, would be required.

N.B.—B. C. $4473\frac{361}{480}$ and B. C. $4242\frac{305}{480}$, Solar and Sōthic Coincidence-dates (1st of their quadrenniums), do not work with quadrennium $910\frac{39}{480}$ — $913\frac{60}{480}$. An extra member, $914\frac{67}{480}$, would be necessary.

So $910\frac{39}{480}$, or any first member of such a quadrennium, will not work with the Coincidence-dates. An extra member (B. C. $4469\frac{333}{480}$, Solar, or B. C. $4238\frac{177}{480}$, Sōthic) would be required for the latter.

Thus the 1st of every quadrennium of the Coincidence-dates, Solar or Sōthic, and the first of $910\frac{39}{480}$ — $913\frac{60}{480}$, or other like the quadrennium, must be neglected; and to each of the Coincidence-date quadrenniums and other quadrenniums—if 4 members in each are to be worked with 4 members in the other—an apparently 5th member must be added.

One explanation possibly is that the General List of Risings for the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid (representing modern reckoning) begins in the form—

$$1 \text{ Thoth} = 0 - 4\frac{28}{480}$$

This is the same as—

$$1 \text{ Thoth} = \begin{array}{r} 0 \\ 1\frac{7}{480} \\ 1\frac{7}{480} \\ 1\frac{7}{480} \\ 1\frac{7}{480} \\ \hline 4\frac{28}{480} \end{array}$$

which means that, counting 0, each quadrennium consists, as it were, of 5 members, whereof the first is negligible

and the 5th has to be brought in from outside. But perhaps a better explanation is that, when I was writing this paper, I had before me only the incorrect quadrenniums inferable from the figures recorded on the *Verso* of the "Ebers Medical Papyrus." At the same time, though the above-mentioned Coincidence-date quadrenniums, like the *Verso* figures on which they are founded, are probably incorrect, as quadrenniums, nevertheless, their figures do bear a relation to the correct quadrenniums, and so, even with them, it has been possible to work out reliable results.

Clearly, therefore, *by modern reckoning*, the *Kahūn Sōthic Rising* took place in B. C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$: and as that Rising is also said to have occurred in the 120th year, of the 12th Dynasty, that Dynasty must have begun, with Se-hetep-ab-rā, or Amen-em-hāt I, in B. C. $1988\frac{11}{480}$, and ended with Sebek-neferū-rā in B. C. $1776\frac{475}{480}$.

Explanation.

B. C. $1988\frac{11}{480}$ = the 1st spheroidal year of the dynasty.

„ $1867\frac{138}{480}$ = the 121 $\frac{360}{480}$ th „ „

$$120\frac{353}{480}$$

These $120\frac{353}{480}$ spheroidal years = 119 ordinary years as based on the original old 360° Spheroid. The day of the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid = $1\frac{7}{480}$ of these ordinary or "unity" days. Accordingly, $119 \times 1\frac{7}{480}$ equals the above $120\frac{353}{480}$ spheroidal years which are on the basis of the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ Spheroid, *i. e.*, of modern B. C. and A. D. reckoning. Another matter to be noted is that in his 3rd regnal year, B. C. $1966\frac{344}{480}$, Senwosri I, 2nd king of the Dynasty, decided to build a temple at Ān, or On (Hēliopolis), in honour of the Sun-God. Its foundations, we are told, were completed at the beginning of a *Sed*-period. According to my lists, there was a *Sed-Heb* in B. C.

1964 $\frac{330}{480}$. A period of $2\frac{14}{480}$ spheroidal years, for the foundations of such a structure to settle, does not seem to be unreasonable. Besides, who knows what time elapsed after the decision to build, before the laying of the foundations was commenced? On the foregoing basis we can only allow Amen-em-hät I, as first king of the 12th Dynasty, 20 ordinary years. If he reigned longer (Breasted gives him 30 years), it must have been as a sort of royal shadow, with his son, co-regent for 10 years, as the real king.

Place of Ethics and Religion in the Sankara System.

PART I

By

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1. It is very widely believed that one of the fixed tenets of the Vedanta is that the work or *karma* is, after all, a bondage which ties a man to this metempsychosis or *Sansára*. One must therefore try to get rid of this bondage and secure his final release or *Mukti* from it. It necessarily follows from this that the Vedantic *Mukti* is equivalent to the emptying of the human Soul, which directs all its energy to leave the human life devoid of all actions and thus to make it a barren desert. It is also generally held that human desires or *Kámanás* are condemned wholesale in this system of Philosophy in no unequivocal language and unmistakable terms; and it is the desires which lie at the root of all works. To kill the desires outright is evidently the sole aim of the Vedanta and their total annihilation, it is thought, is enjoined in an authoritative tone, whose voice can be heard from every page of the Vedantic literature. As the entire man is thought to be "a mere sum-total of desires and works mechanically related," and as his virtues and vices are all relegated to the Empirical region and are described as false and unreal:—it has been generally supposed that the

Opinion prevails that Vedanta is opposed to Ethical Theism and is ante-theistic in religion: Its goal is—the emptying of human soul.

destruction of the individuality which consists merely in the desires, pleasure, pain, activities, etc., etc., is the aim of this philosophy which seeks absorption of one's being in the "difference-less pantheistic empty void" which it calls *Nirguna Brahma*, and such absorption is the *Mukti* which it teaches.¹ The healthy enrichment and expansion of the human Soul by the acquirement and cultivation of moral virtues, it is seriously maintained, is out of place in this system of Philosophy. And a philosophical system, it is very justly concluded, which can shed no wholesome influence upon the life and conduct of man and human society, has very little practical interest which it can evoke, and so it stands condemned in its own teaching.

Such, in fact, are the ideas and conclusions which are to be found extensively gaining ground both in Europe and in India even among the most sympathetic critics of the Advaita philosophy. We propose in this paper to examine the validity of the assertions above referred to, and to see if such conclusions as have been drawn find any support from the writings of Sankara---the great interpreter and leader of this school of thought. We shall also try to discover and determine if Ethics and Religion do not form an integral and essential part of the Vedanta theory.

2. Every man is born endowed with a psychological disposition which may be traced to the origin of the human race, and which constitutes the most essential heritage for him to which he has succeeded. In this disposition are to be found imbedded all his natural instincts and habits, his love and hatred, his pleasure and pain, his appetites and passions, and his entire stock of

¹ Cf. What the "Indian Theism" says—"The method of attaining to the *Atmá* according to the teaching of the Upanishads is that of *making the human spirit a desert*.**** The goal of effort is an absorption in which all difference is lost; every movement of the mind and heart must be cast-forth and stilled," etc.

impulses and desires. It is the receptacle of all the race-experience and his past impressions or *Samskāras* lying deep in it in a latent form, ready to rise up to the surface at the slightest notice or call. Sankara has called this disposition—*Jaiva Prakriti* or *Swavāba* or nature,¹ and man is *passive* (अस्तन्त्र, अवश) in respect of this nature or *swavāba* which determines him and his actions, and which is revealed when he is born. It is owing to this disposition that man has likings and dislikings for particular sense-objects;—that some men are seen from their childhood evincing natural attachment to mundane objects of enjoyments, and others developing natural aversion to temporal pleasures.

An idea of how this “disposition” or *Jaiva-prakriti* has been described in the Vedānta-works can be formed from the following:—

(a) “Nature or *Prakriti* is the *Samskāra* (the latent self-reproductive impression of the past acts of *Dharma* and a-*Dharma*) manifesting itself at the commencement of the present birth.....All living beings follow their own nature.”

(b) “Nature or *Swavāba* is the tendency (*Samskāra* or *vāsana*) in living beings acquired by them in the past births, and manifesting itself in the present birth ready to yield its effects, and this “nature” is the source of the *Gunas*, it being impossible for the *Gunas* to manifest themselves without a cause.”

(c) “As regards all sense-objects, there necessarily arises in each case love (रागः) for an agreeable object, and aversion (द्वेषः) for a disagreeable object. When desire (कामः) arises, it rouses the *rajas* and urges the person to action.”²

¹ Vide Sankara's observation in Briho. Bhāṣya, 4.4.2. Sometimes Sankara calls this “disposition” as *Avidyādi-kāma-kleshāsayaḥ* (Gita² Bhāṣya, 8. 18);—Since this disposition is the natural determinant of all our activities, and it is the root of our desires, pleasure and pain stimulated from it. The term *avidyā* is used in its connection, because it is not the “True Self;” but Sankara describes it as composed of 5 sheaths, as *Monomaya*, *Prānamaya*, *Vijñānamaya*, etc., etc., (Taitt² Bhāṣya, 2.3).

² For (a), vide Gita-bhāṣya, 3.33.

For (b), vide Gita-bhāṣya, 18.41.

For (c), vide GiBhā², 3.34 & 37.

This "nature" or empirical character of the man attains gradual development through the influence of his education, association, society and the circumstances in which he is born and brought up. This is the unformed, undisciplined animal nature in man. Thus man is born with a fund of animal impulses and inclinations which are the source of his movements or the tendency to activities. He is born subject to desires—love and hatred—**राग-द्वेष**—which colour his whole nature. Man is, at the beginning, no better than an animal being : He is just emerged from nature ; he is not yet a self-conscious being. He is simply "aware" or "conscious" of certain passive feelings aroused in him in consequence of his contact with the outward environment ; and of certain impulses within, spontaneously rising and demanding their satisfaction—moving him towards, and repulsing him away from, the agreeable and disagreeable objects, as the case may be. In fulfilling his **काम-क्रोध** (impulses of love and hatred) he fulfils his life's entire purpose. These impulsive movements are always accompanied by pleasure and pain which leave their impression upon the mind. Mere idea of pleasure, thus, becomes the guide of his life and the sole guide of his movements and actions.

"Desire is the longing for a pleasure-giving agreeable object of experience when actually coming within the ken of our senses or heard or remembered ; and anger is the aversion for the disagreeable, for the cause of pain when being seen or heard of or remembered."

(Gita-bhāṣya, 5.23.)

Man is completely passive here and utterly at the mercy of these impulses. This is the Empirical, actual self.

Sankara is reluctant to call this Self a self at all. He is fond of calling it Anātmā (**अनात्मा**). There is *agency* in this self no doubt ; but this is no real agency at all. For, all the necessary elements constituting the agency

of this self are reciprocally determined by their antecedents and consequents in time. The actions involving movements of the body, sense-organs, *manas*, etc., etc., are necessarily mechanically determined by, and are the resultant of, their antecedent conditions in time—

“*Chalandtmakasya Karmanah andtma-kar-tikasya “Aham-karomiti” pravirtti-darasanāt.*

(Gītā-Bhāṣya, 18-66.)

None of these actions can, therefore, be called “free.” In such a life, there is no purpose, no end, no aim, no regulation, no *purushārtha*.¹ As we are enslaved by these impulses and passions and blinded by their influence, we cannot discern our right path, we cannot choose our true end—our *purushārtha* (पुरुषार्थ)—

“To one whose mind is subject to the passions of desire and aversion, there cannot indeed arise a knowledge of things as they are, even of the external world. And it needs no saying that to such a man whose intellect is thus overpowered by passions of desire and aversion—इच्छा-द्वेष there cannot arise a knowledge of the Innermost Self.”

(Gītā Bhāṣya, 7.27.)

Such a life is swayed by each and every impulse as it is stimulated. How can there be unity and order in such a life?

3. But is this the “whole” man? Are man’s environment without and his impulses within—the sole determinant? Is there no other nature *higher* in man than this his “animal nature?” Is there no *swarupa*—inner unity—underlying those manifold impulses and instincts,—which is the true source of his actions?

What a man speaks and acts is not the whole man. All that flows from him—all his words, actions and move-

¹ Cf. Vide Gītā-Bhāṣya, 2-63. And Kena-Bhāṣya 1.1. also—“यो हि बहिर्युक्तः प्रवर्तते पुरुषः ‘इष्टं मे भूयात्—न स आत्यन्तिकं पुरुषार्थं’ (End) लभते” (Vedantabhāṣya).

ments cannot be the exhaustive expression of the man. It is wrong to identify man with all these. What the man *actually* thinks and acts can never be equivalent to what the man is in his essence. What he actually feels, thinks and does—falls infinitely short of what is *possible* for him to do.¹ He is not a mere sum-total of his feelings, impulses, habits gathered in the past. As much as he did express in his past records, and as much as he expresses himself in his present deeds and thoughts—fall far short of what constitutes his “nature” or *swarupa*. These will always remain imperfect expressions of that inner “nature” which these seek to express. It is because man is something “more” than these. It is because Brahma, which is infinite and inexhaustible (अव्यय), is revealed in man and is present behind him. It is for this reason that no one of his expressions can fix the infinite and inexhaustible possibilities in man in a rigid and final form.²

Sankara has observed that infinite knowledge and power (ज्ञानैश्वर्य) lies hidden in man under the cover of his *actual* thoughts and deeds.

“Ātma,” says Sankara, “has been expanded in man only—With other animals, eating and drinking alone constitute their sphere of knowledge. But man is entitled to approach and to reach the supreme End of life (निःशेषत्). He it is who *desires to gain* the highest end by appropriate *means* and by knowledge (ब्रह्मविद्यया)”—

(Taitt. Bhasya, 2.1 and Brih. Bhasya, 1. 4. 10.)

“It is the actual presence of the Supreme End behind them—which constitutes the possibility for their *future progress* from the present stage to the next higher and higher stages—of those who are fit for such progress”

(Gita Bhasya, 10.34.)

¹ The individual Self is thus described :—“That which first shows itself as the Inner-most Self (प्रत्यगात्मा) in the body, and turns out *in the end* to be identical with the Supreme Reality—the Brahma” (Gita, 8.3).

² It is wrong to restrict what is inexhaustible to its actual deeds and thoughts, as if these are its exhaustive expressions. In the Gita, such idea has been condemned as a Tāmasa idea (18. 22).

"Man's distinction lies in the fact that instead of being passively disposed of by his impulses and desires, he can bring them under the law of *rational Self* which the impulses envelope."

(Veda. Bhāṣya, 3. 2. 5 & 35.)

It is this presence, within us, of something inexhaustible which makes us desire *more and more* and it is for this *infinite possibility* in us that we never feel satisfied with our actual thoughts and deeds.

Because of this *possibility* of man that he is held responsible for the works—good or bad—done by him. How is it that we do not make animals accountable for their evil works? What is it that distinguishes a man from the lower animals? It is not at all *possible* for an animal to do otherwise than what is dictated to it by its *actual* nature, by its impulses and passions. But with man the case stands differently. He could have, had he only paused and deliberated, seen the consequences of his impulsive actions which he had indulged in. There was, in him, a possibility for a better course of action than what he had done, and this possibility he has ignored. Why did he, in following his evil impulse, stoop to an animal satisfaction? It is for this that we hold the man responsible for his evil deed and punish him for it. We all know, his actual life is not all-in-all to him; infinite possibility lies hidden in him. An infinite possibility either for good or for evil is always present in him. It is for this possibility within man that nobody can tell how he will express himself at the present crisis. It was for this possibility within him that the notorious Jagāi (जगाई)¹ whose life had seemed irrevocably fixed in evil ways was suddenly shocked into his real life, and quite unexpectedly turned over a new leaf, resolving thenceforward to live a higher life,—when the

Man solely responsible for his deeds.

¹ This refers to an incident mentioned in the Life of Sri Chaitanya.

famous Saint of Nadia—Sri Chaitanya—had extended his arms of love towards him in return for the bleeding injury he had received from the cruel hand of the miscreant. It is this possibility or power which is the shaping or directing force (प्रेरयिता) within us,—bringing man, step by step, to the ultimate realisation of his final end—his परमपुरुषार्थ (his parama-purushârtha). Man's *actual present* life is this possibility *so far realised*; —is the partial and imperfect manifestation or expression of this inexhaustible possibility.

The nature of self:
(i) It is an End—
Purposive power—
utilises all its acti-
ties for its own reali-
sation.

4. Sankara has observed in more places than one that—

“All the movements visible in the world, all its works and activities—must have a regulative purpose present behind them which shapes them for its own realisation.”

It not only holds good in the outward world, but it is also true in all the activities of the inner world. He continues—

“it is also the case with all the impulsive movements which go on within the human organisms—all the actions of the sense-organs, all the functions of the *manas*, intellect and the like.”

This is an observation the value of which, it is needless to add, cannot be exaggerated. What are these movements and activities for? For what use do these aspirations, efforts and actions (“सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः”) go on? Their value, Sankara points out, lies not in that they exist alongside of Âtmâ, but in the *use* (“कर्मत्वापत्तिनिमित्ताः”) which the Âtmâ (the Self) makes of them—

“*Drishi-karmatwâpatti-nimittâ hi Jagatah Sarvâ pravrittih,*” &c.

(Gita-bhâshya, 9.10)¹

¹ Sankara explains this stanza in this way—“The विपरिवर्त्तन of the world i.e. the continuously changing elements of the world are *moving to realise a Divine purpose or End*. The world with all its changing elements is moving for the realisation of the Final End. जगतः सर्वा प्रवृत्तिः.....अवगतिनिष्ठा अवगलवसाना, i.e. ब्रह्मावगति.

All these activities of the organism have their only value in the fact that they may be used by the *Drishi* (दृशि)—the rational “I” for his own purpose; that they may be utilised for his end; that they may prove *useful* (कर्मत्वापत्ति or उपकार) to him. Otherwise, all these actions and movements (प्रवृत्तयः) will entirely lose their value.¹ There is the Ātmā or the Self within, *other than* these movements and activities, *for whose sake* they act. This remark proves the Self (आत्मा) to be a purpose—an End—which is realised in these activities, and which utilises these for its own use.

Elsewhere, Sankara's remarks in this connection are equally valuable and bring the same important truth into prominence—

“Suppose,” he says there, “no Ātmā (Self) is present behind these activities (प्रवृत्तयः); there are only these activities working, but there is no purpose to regulate them. An absurd consequence will follow, *viz.*, nobody is present whose *purpose* they serve; nobody is there to use them, to utilise them—

अप्रसिद्धिं हि आत्मनि, स्वार्थाः सर्वान् प्रवृत्तयः व्यर्थाः प्रसज्येरन्”²

The activities would thus prove *useless* (व्यर्थाः); they would be to no purpose. For, there is no regulation of these activities; no purpose to guide them.” Thus there would be no order, no unity, no central purpose in the human life.

The realisation of Brahma is its अवसान—*abashāna*, *i.e.* Final End. In the Vedānta-bhāṣya he says—अवगतिपथ्यं ज्ञानं...नातः परं किञ्चित् आकाङ्क्षमस्ति।—*i.e.*, the realisation of the Brahma is the *paryyanta*—the final goal—where all our endeavours and desires find their fulfilment. The sense of the stanza is that all activities are for the realisation of the final purpose.

¹ All *pravrittis* (activities) without the Self to direct them are like *Kāshtha-loshtha* (काष्ठ-लोष्ठ). काष्ठलोष्ठसमस्य चेतनेनाप्रवृत्तिरस्य प्रवृत्त्यनुपपत्तिः.” (3.2.38).

² *Vide* Gitābhāṣya 18-50. Here also Sankara remarks that all actions and works point to something beyond them whose purpose they serve, for whose sake they act. Otherwise pleasure, pain, etc., would have to be supposed to be acting for the sake of pleasure, pain; and the activities of the body are for the sake of the body. To avoid such absurdity, the presence of the Self must be admitted whose purpose these activities realise. It is the Self which connects and determines all these functions and activities for its own final realisation.

It has been stated elsewhere, as a general principle that—

“the works and activities (*प्रवृत्ति*), if *severed and cut off* from their source—the Self—are entirely valueless or useless, like the broom, the stick, the dust on the road-side.”¹

This important truth is also expressed in the Kena-bhāṣya where the Self has been established as a purpose—a will-power—and it is this purpose for whose sake all the elements of the body act. And this purpose is, in its nature, *other than* (*स्वतन्त्र*) these activities which it directs and controls and moves for its own realisation—

स्वतन्त्रस्य इच्छामात्रेणैव मन-आदिप्रेषयितृत्वं”

(Kenabhāṣya, I.1)²

Do not all these passages clearly imply that Sankara's idea about the Self was that it is an End-in-itself—a purposive power—which purpose *utilises* all its impulsive movements for its own realisation? Can, in the face of such clear expressions embodied in these passages, Sankara's Self be treated as a “mere intelligence divorced from action?” We have gathered together principal passages on the subject and presented them before our readers with the hope that they may come to their own conclusion on this important point for themselves.

But we have not done as yet. To another passage (ii) It is a “free which is found recorded in the Katha-bhāṣya (2.2-5), we now beg to request our readers to turn their attention. This passage will show that the Self is a “free causality” which weighs its impulses and determines their activities for the realisation of its own end or purpose.

¹ *Vide* Brihad. Bhāṣya, 4.4.18. *Cf.* also Ved. bhāṣya, 3.2.38.

² Sankara observes here—The power is distinguished from the actions of the body, organs, manas, etc.; it does not disintegrate into these activities, none of which endures. The Self, as causal power, does not yield to the impulsive activities, but it lies entirely outside these empirical series and determines them.

"The Supreme good (श्रेयः) and the mundane good (प्रेयः) are confusedly presented to the man. The intelligent *compare* the two, and on mature *reflection* discern their *relative value*—their difference—and having thus reflected, they embrace the supreme good as worthier than the pleasurable. Then they adopt means to the attainment of the End chosen."

We thus compare, estimate our impulses, and they, too, become objects of our contemplation. A sum-total of feelings and impulses, etc., cannot compare and deliberate and control any more than each feeling and impulse separately. Only a *free* Self can do so which *has* them, which is *above* them. In a comparison between the impulses, in a preference among them of what is the highest good, we are *agents* and we are *free*. A man thus freely makes a choice and desires what are qualitatively higher; and ultimately chooses what he *rationaly* decides to be his *highest good*. If it be true that I often act *in opposition* to what is my strongest desire at the present moment, it follows that my self acts *independently* of pleasure, temperament, habit, etc.

Similar remarks are found embodied in the Gītā-bhāṣya also—

"Man is man only so long as his *antahkarana* is competent to discriminate between right and wrong. When he is unable to do so, he is debarred from attaining the highest of human aspirations.

Hence at the very commencement, he must *rise above* the sway of राग-द्वेष—affection for and aversion to the sense-objects or pleasures and pains." "He must restrain these natural tendencies, he must exert himself with vigour to resist these natural impulses, and then the action of his will is in an opposite direction."

(Katha-bhāṣya).¹

Unrestrained *desire* works mischief; and urged by uncontrolled desire the man commits sin and evil. We are bent on selfish ends and are deluded by "egoism"—

¹ The conversion of the undisciplined animal nature in man into a disciplined virtuous character involves great effort—the effort of the whole man (सद्गता प्रयासिनः).

when uncontrolled desire urges us to action. We must, therefore, bring our impulses and desires under the law of rational Self, into the path of our positive purpose of life which we have deliberately selected and which has filled up our entire being.

5. The foregoing discussion has brought into clear light an important truth before our mind. *Both*—the gratification of impulsive desires and the realisation of the highest purpose of life—cannot be pursued by the same man as an *object* of desire. There exists a conflict between the selfish impulsive activities and the realisation of the supreme purpose of life. Both cannot be chosen by a man, as an object for his realisation.¹ There cannot be *two ends* of his life. Sankara has repeatedly shown that there is an eternal conflict (विरोध) between (कर्म) and Jnana (ज्ञान). Unless a man feels disgusted (विरक्त) with the pleasure-giving mundane ends, he cannot choose the realisation of Self as his Supreme and only End of life.

Sankara has expressed his own idea on the subject thus :—

(a) “ I desire to attain an end which is eternal, imperishable and transcendental ; what shall I do with karma which is opposite to it in its nature ? ”

(b) “ Light and shade cannot co-exist. Interests in outward activities and interests in the inner-self are mutually exclusive. The dualism between the spheres of virtue and prudence is an irreducible dualism whose rival claims it is impossible to adjust.”

(c) “ Unless our mind is turned away from the mundane objects, we are unable to devote it to the realisation of the self. You cannot desire both—the outward objects and the inner self at the same moment. There is conflict between the two courses.”

(d) “ In the world people revel with mundane goods. It is not so with the wise whose revel is centred in the self alone. For the

¹ It is the notorious कर्मज्ञान-संशय against which Sankara has written so much.

unwise there are many pleasures due to the sense-objects. But to the wise their sole rejoicing proceeds from the self."

(e) "A distinction has been made between Jñāna-nishthā (ज्ञाननिष्ठा) and karma-nishthā (कर्मनिष्ठा). Vedic works are intended for him only who has desires. The renunciation of these works is enjoined on him who seeks only the self."¹

We need not quote further passages. The passages quoted above all declare what really worked in the mind of Sankara, and what led him to make a distinction between Jñana (ज्ञान) and Karma (कर्म)—knowledge and works. His purpose was not that we are to renounce all works,—even the higher moral virtues;—and as we shall presently see he was not advocating inertia. These and other similar passages clearly indicate the truth that there can be only *one* ultimate End of life. Jñana and Karma *both* cannot constitute the supreme End. Karma (कर्म) done to secure mundane pleasure or goods and Jñana (ज्ञान), *i. e.*, the realisation of the Self—cannot *both* be the ultimate End of life.

Sankara thus contrasts the results of the two—Jñana (ज्ञान) and Karma (कर्म) :—

If you desire the realisation of the Self as your highest end, how can you choose works or (कर्म)? For, works or karma can be chosen, only for the following purposes :—

(i) You can choose Karma, if you are desirous of producing something which is as yet non-existent (उत्पद्य). But as the self is what is already in you, eternally existent,—how can Karma produce it?

(ii) If you desire to reach a place or an object, you must perform certain activities or Karmas for it (प्राप्य). But the self is what is always within your reach; no Karma is needed at all for reaching it.

(iii) For the purpose of effecting a change or transformation to a thing, work or Karma may prove necessary (विकार्य). But as the

¹ For (a), *vide* Mundaka, bhāṣya, 1.2.12.

For (b), *vide* Mundaka bhāṣya, 3.1.4.

For (c), *vide* Brihadaranyaka-bhāṣya, 1.6.1 & Katha: bhāṣya 4.1.

For (d), *vide* Chandogya: bhāṣya, 7.25.2.

For (e), Gitabhāṣya, 2.10.

self is beyond change,—as it is subject to no transformation—is immutable—Karma is out of place.

(iv) If you desire to effect purification to your mind or something else, work or Karma proves useful for the purpose (संस्कार्यं). But what would action do to the self which is always pure? ¹

Now, from the foregoing discussion it follows that there can be but one object of our desire, one supreme End of our life, and that is—the Realisation of the Self. And works or Karmas are only needed for the *purification* of our mind or Antah-karana.

6. We have seen above that we are naturally selfish beings. We seek always the gratification of our pleasure, to appropriate which to ourselves, we do not hesitate to work mischief to others. Our mind is, by nature, filled up with desire for agreeable object and aversion to disagreeable—*राग-द्वेष*,—and driven by these impulses, we work blindly for our selfish ends and often quarrel with others to secure pleasure to ourselves. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, for us to *purify* our mind from these selfish desires and inclinations, and to free it from their influences. Unless this purification can be effected, the realisation of the Self is out of the question.

The purification of the mind or antah-karana can be effected by restraining these egoistic impulses and tendencies to action (negatively), and by performing higher kinds of works (positively). By exerting ourselves always for the good of the community and by the performance of unselfish and disinterested works, our mind may become gradually free from selfish passions and desires; and when these impurities are thus removed, it is prepared for the supreme realisation. But

¹ Vide Vedānta-bhāṣya 1.1.4, Bṛihadāranyaka-bhāṣya 3.3.1 and other places for these discussions.

a caution is needed here. These unselfish works ought not to be done, nay they cannot be done—as *ends-in-themselves*. As there can be only *one Supreme End*, viz., the realisation of the Self which is the only object of our desire; higher disinterested works can be done only *as a means* of helping that realisation. This, in brief, is the view of Sankara.

Works done with impulsive and selfish motives have been condemned in the Vedanta, as *Sakāma-karmas*. And as such works are always looked upon as the source of bondage, with a view to supplant and supersede these self-seeking activities, higher disinterested kinds of works have been prescribed and the aspirants after emancipation (सुसुक्ष्म) are called upon to diligently perform these works. These higher works are considered indispensable for the purification of the mind (चित्तशुद्धि or सत्त्व-शुद्धि), infested as it is with selfish impulses and desires.¹ And as these are done for emancipating the mind from the influence of the lower natural tendencies, which would ultimately lead to the realisation of the true Self, these works cannot prove a bondage. If, however, the supreme End is forgotten, and these are done as ends-in-themselves, only then they will prove a bondage.

An idea prevails among many that in the Sankara's system of Vedanta no room has been left for works and that his aim was to get rid of all works altogether. To our mind, this is an idea which cannot be accepted and which must be condemned as erroneous—with all the emphasis which we can command. We have said above that as our mind is naturally swayed by selfish passions and desires, it needs purification in order to

(i) They are indispensable for purification of mind (सत्त्वशुद्धि).

¹ Vide Mundaka-bhāṣya 3.1.8, Kena-bhāṣya, 4.8. “इन्द्रिय-विषय-संसर्गजनित-रागादि-मलकालुष्यापनयनात्, आदशसलिलादिवत्, प्रसादितं स्वच्छमवतिष्ठते यदा, तदा ज्ञानस्य प्रसादः स्यात्” ।

prepare it finally for the realisation of the ultimate End which constitutes the only object of our desires. How this purification is to be effected will appear from the following passages :—

(a) “When a man performs higher kinds of *works* (nitya-karmas or obligatory works), his mind or antah-karana unsoiled by desire for results—without attachment and longing for results—becomes *regenerated and pure*. When thus purified, the mind becomes fit for contemplation of the self. Thus the man whose mind has been purified by the performance of obligatory works (नित्यकर्म) and who is thus *prepared* to acquire the self-realisation may gradually attain to Jnana-nishthā (the final end).”

(b) “The three higher kinds of action should be performed; for, they cause *purity* in those who have no desire for fruits.....These actions should be performed by a *seeker of liberation*, though they form the cause of bondage in the case of one who has an attachment for the actions and a desire for their fruits.”

(c) “The seekers of liberation must perform ritual works and other obligatory duties without any longing for the fruits of such works. When thus performed, the works prove useful as a *means* to the birth of spiritual regeneration of the mind (विद्योत्पत्ति) ”

(d) “Works are meant for the *purification* of the mind. Selfish desires and *passions* are *impediments* to self-realisation. Unselfish prescribed duties when not done with self-seeking motives remove these impediments, effect purification of the mind, and thus help the final realisation.”¹

We need not multiply instances. Such observations are to be found everywhere in the Vedānta works. The readers will judge for themselves if such observations at all favour the idea of *inertia* prevalent among the critics of Sankara's theory. We find Sankara everywhere teaching that higher works which are described as nitya-karmas must be done for the purification of the mind. But a word of caution is again necessary. These

¹ For (a), vide Gitabhāṣya 18.10.

For (b), vide Gitabhāṣya 18.5&6

For (c), vide Vedantabhāṣya 3.4.27&38 &c.

For (d), vide Gitabhāṣya 6.1.

are never to be performed *as an End*, i.e., as an object of desire. For, as we have seen, there can only be *one* object of desire,—one End, *viz.*, the realisation of the true Self.

As a corollary to the above proposition, we may mention here another fact. The reader (ii) Why karma-section of the Veda will find an objection raised by Sankara himself in several places of his system that—if the self-realisation be the only End which we must pursue, all works necessarily become useless. And the work-section (कर्मकाण्ड) of the Veda—in which rules and prescriptions have been elaborately laid down for the performance of works—does also prove utterly value-less. To meet this objection, Sankara replies :—

“Only the selfish works (Sakāma-karmas) are to be considered useless. The higher disinterested works (Nitya-karmas) have always a value in the Vedānta; they are never considered useless. For, they are meant for the purification of the mind. Disinterested works always help the realisation of the Self.”¹

The reply suggested by Sankara in his commentary on the Gītā is still more valuable and deserves our particular consideration—

“Our theory does not lead to the conclusion that the Veda teaching works proves useless. For, by retraining the first *natural activities* one after the other, and thereby gradually inducing fresh and *higher activities*, it serves to create an aspiration *to reach the innermost Self*.”²

From these passages the readers will find a very clear enunciation of the Sankara's position about the works. It is not true that works have no place in his philosophy and that he considered all works as fetters. On the contrary, higher and higher works, as we have just seen, must always be performed—so long as we have

¹ Kenabhasya, I.1.

² Gitabhasya, 18.66. “उत्तरीत्तरहीनफलत्यागावसान-साधनाः, etc.”

not reached the final End where all works, all our duties find their completion and highest fulfilment—

“यत् कर्त्तव्यं तत्सर्व्वं, भगवत्तत्त्वे विदिते कृतं भवेत् । न च अन्यथा कर्त्तव्यं परिसमाप्यते कस्यचित्”—

(Gita Bhasya, 15. 20).

But here we must remind the readers of the note of warning which Sankara has sounded. No works, however high their nature, should be done as an end-in-itself; no work ought to be made an object of your desire (न द्रष्टव्यत्वेन). For, as an *object* of desire, work will constitute itself *as an end*. Wherefore it is that everywhere it has been laid down that works are not to be performed with a desire for their fruits (फलाकाङ्क्षा). For there can be only *one object* of desire, one ultimate End of life. Works ought not to be abandoned—

“न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत्”
(*Natyajyam, karjyameva tat*)—

They must be done for the purification of the mind—

“पावनानि मनीषिणाम्”
(*pāvanāni manīṣinām*)—

which is full of impure thoughts and tendencies to activity. Only they must not be done as ends-in-themselves—as if they possess a primary and independent value in themselves. But their performance is always indispensably needed as a means (उपायत्वेनैव);¹ they must be utilised by us, so that they may prove *useful* for the ultimate purpose we have in view, *viz.*, the realisation of our final good. The works, nay—everything of the world—have value, *not* as they exist alongside of the Ātmâ, but only so far as they are *used* by us—how we use them—

¹ “परस्मिन् ब्रह्मणि चित्तावतारोपायत्वेनैव एते परिकल्पान्ते, न द्रष्टव्यत्वेन” (Veda. bhā., 3.3.12). Here ‘उपायत्वं’ stands in *contrast* with ‘द्रष्टव्यत्वं’. उपायत्वं—useful as a means. न द्रष्टव्यत्वेन—*i.e.*, not as an End.

In this way, by the performance of disinterested higher works, the man is regenerated from the undisciplined "animality" (पशुत्व-असुरत्व) to the disciplined

(iii) The higher Nityakarmmas regenerate man from animality to rationality.

"rationality" (देवत्व).¹ In the Brihadâranyaka, the yielding of the mind to the natural inclinations and instincts

has been called as Ashura-vâba (असुरभाव—पशुत्व), and the doing of higher disinterested works for the good of the community, under the prescriptions of the Shâstras, with the higher and unselfish purposes and inclinations, has been designated as Deva-bhâva (देवभाव).² If men follow passively the natural bents of their mind and permit them to become the sole guide of their life, they are no higher than animals. But if they obey the injunctions of the Shâstras and work for the social good and public utility—such disinterested motives and works will exalt them to the higher attributes of benevolent gods (देवत्व). This high lesson the Vedanta teaches. How to make men possessors of godly qualities and thereby to establish a divine kingdom on earth—is the aim of the Vedanta. But here again the Vedanta has not stopped. Its ultimate aim is to carry the man to final realisation and to fulfil his *transcendental* destiny.

7. We have said that the higher forms of works—the

Higher disinterested works cannot be hypostatized as an End.

Two reasons stated. These are to be used as a means.

nitya-karmas—works done with disinterested motives cannot be treated as ends-in-themselves, but always as *means*—as a sâdhana (साधन) useful, through the purification of the mind, for the

attainment of the true self which is our ultimate End. If, however, these works are treated as *ends*, as is

¹ All the good and disinterested works and virtues are *means* useful for the realisation of the final End. They are to be looked upon as instruments (साधनानि) which we must use (उपकारक) as *helps* to the realisation of the Self. These have value, only because they are *utilised* by the Self for its own purpose.

² Vide Madhusudan's gloss on Sank. bhâsya on Gita.

generally done, some serious consequences will follow. Let us consider these consequences now.

We are all members of a social whole. We belong to Varnâśrama-community, of which we are the members. Certain rules and laws we find recorded in the Shâstras for our guidance. These laws are authoritative for us; because they form the collective experiences and opinions of the best selves of the community. It is generally held that certain rules and acts which have been evolved within the community for its own preservation, are imposed upon its individual members, so that each of them may observe and act up to these rules. Thus the preservation or the good of the community becomes the *End* for which the individual members live and act. These actions are known as Varnâśrama-Dharma (वर्णाश्रम-धर्म) and we must all perform these Dharmas or duties for the good of the Varnâśrama-community of which, we, as members, form parts. Its prescriptions (विधि) and its prohibitions (निषेध) are all binding upon us, which each of us must obey. This is the generally accepted and usual view with regard to Varnâśrama-Dharma. The individuals can have no other purpose in their life, but to perform these duties or Dharmas. Regarded in this way, the individuals have only an instrumental value;—they are reduced to a machine, somehow constructed, to produce certain works beyond themselves, for the good of the community. They exist for these duties which they owe to the community of which they form quite an insignificant part; they have value, only for these works. The community thus annexes the individuals to itself. The moral value of the individuals entirely depends upon their works—their service—their utility to the community as a whole. Their moral criterion is judged only by some *outward result* which they can produce. The individual is thus entirely resolved into his works. If the outward

works are regarded as *Ends-in-themselves*, such inevitable consequence is bound to follow.

But this cannot be the right view of the works. Sankara urges his objections against this view of the works thus—

He points out—

(i) Man cannot be made an object of command (नियोग विषय) from outside. Man is not a *thing* to be passively moulded and shaped from outside.¹ He may be persuaded from the inner side, not controlled passively from the outside. Sankara has told us that—

“ज्ञापकं हि शास्त्रं, न कारकं”

(*Jnapakam hi Shastram, na karakam*)

Man chooses his *end* according to his own light. The Shāstras only present before him the lower and higher lines of conduct; but do not compel him to select a particular course of action. The Shāstras do not mould the man to their own ideas of good; they can only appeal to his inner self.”²

(ii) Again, Sankara points out that the ideas of good works (virtues) and bad works (vices) evolved within the community cannot be regarded as *ends-in-themselves*. For, says he, we find the ideas of virtue and vice in a particular epoch of society *differ* from the ideas of virtue and vice in the next or another epoch.³ Again, “in the same epoch, different people select different works as their ends.” “What are looked upon as good works in a particular time and place are regarded otherwise in a different time and place.”⁴

(iii) It is also laid down in the Vedānta-Bhāṣya that—“in the progressively higher and higher worlds, the virtues and vices are being evolved in higher and higher forms up to the *Brahma-loka* where they are perfected.”⁵

¹ Vide Vedāntabhāṣya, 3.2.21 and 2.3.48, etc.

² Brihadāranyaka bhāṣya 2.1.20. Hence how can you say that the rules prescribed by the community (through its Shāstras) are the *ends* to which the man is entirely subordinate? As if the man is a *mere means* for the performance of these prescribed duties as his *end*.

³ Ved. bhāṣya, 4.3.16 and 3.4.5. “उपासनेषु पूर्वस्मात् पूर्वस्मात् फलविशेषं उत्तरस्मिन् उत्तरस्मिन् उपासने दर्शयति । ब्रह्मतत्त्वत्वे कथं फलविशेषः स्यात् अवशिष्टत्वात् ?” etc., etc.

⁴ Ved. bhāṣya, 1.1.4 and 3.1.25.

⁵ Ved. bhāṣya, 1.1.4..... “धर्मस्यापि तारतम्यं ईत्यादि. मनुष्यत्वादावप्य ब्रह्मान्तं च” ।

All these clearly show that virtues (and vices) are constantly evolving in higher and higher forms, and they are constantly growing with the progressively growing communities and the worlds. They cannot therefore be regarded as the *ultimate End* of life.

We can do no better than to repeat in this place the utterances of Sankara himself which embody his general views on the Varnâśrama-duties (वर्णाश्रम धर्म). These remarks are important and we invite particular attention of our readers to them. These remarks bring the relation between the higher karmas (कर्म) and Jnana (ज्ञान) very forcibly home to the mind; and the valuable bearing which the works have upon the Self-realisation stands palpably revealed. Sankara writes—

“These duties respectively enjoined on the several castes, lead, when rightly performed, to swarga (स्वर्ग) as their *natural result*..... But from the *operation of a new cause* a higher result accrues, *viz.*; worshipping the Lord by performing his duty, man *attains perfection*, through his being qualified for the Jnana-nishthā.”

Gita-bhāṣya, 18.44-45.

“Can this *perfection* be attained *directly* by the mere performance of one's duty? No;—how then? The perfection accruing in worshipping the Lord through *one's own duties* qualifies the aspirant for the Jnananishthā which culminates in *Moksha*” (18.56).

In this manner—

“The works which are held as a *bondage* are converted into a *means* for the *Self-realisation*.”¹

(Briha. Bhā. 3.3.1).²

From these observations we can now conclude that the works (karma) when regarded as *ends*, as objects of desire—do prove a bondage, and they come into *conflict* with the Jnana (*i.e.* the Self-realisation). But taken as a *means* and used as such, this conflict (विरोध) between

¹ Madhusudan's Gloss on Gita-bhāṣya, 18.56.

² Ved. bhāṣya 4.1.16 and 4.1.18. “त्रयाविद्याया सङ्ग 'एककार्य' भवति” etc., etc.

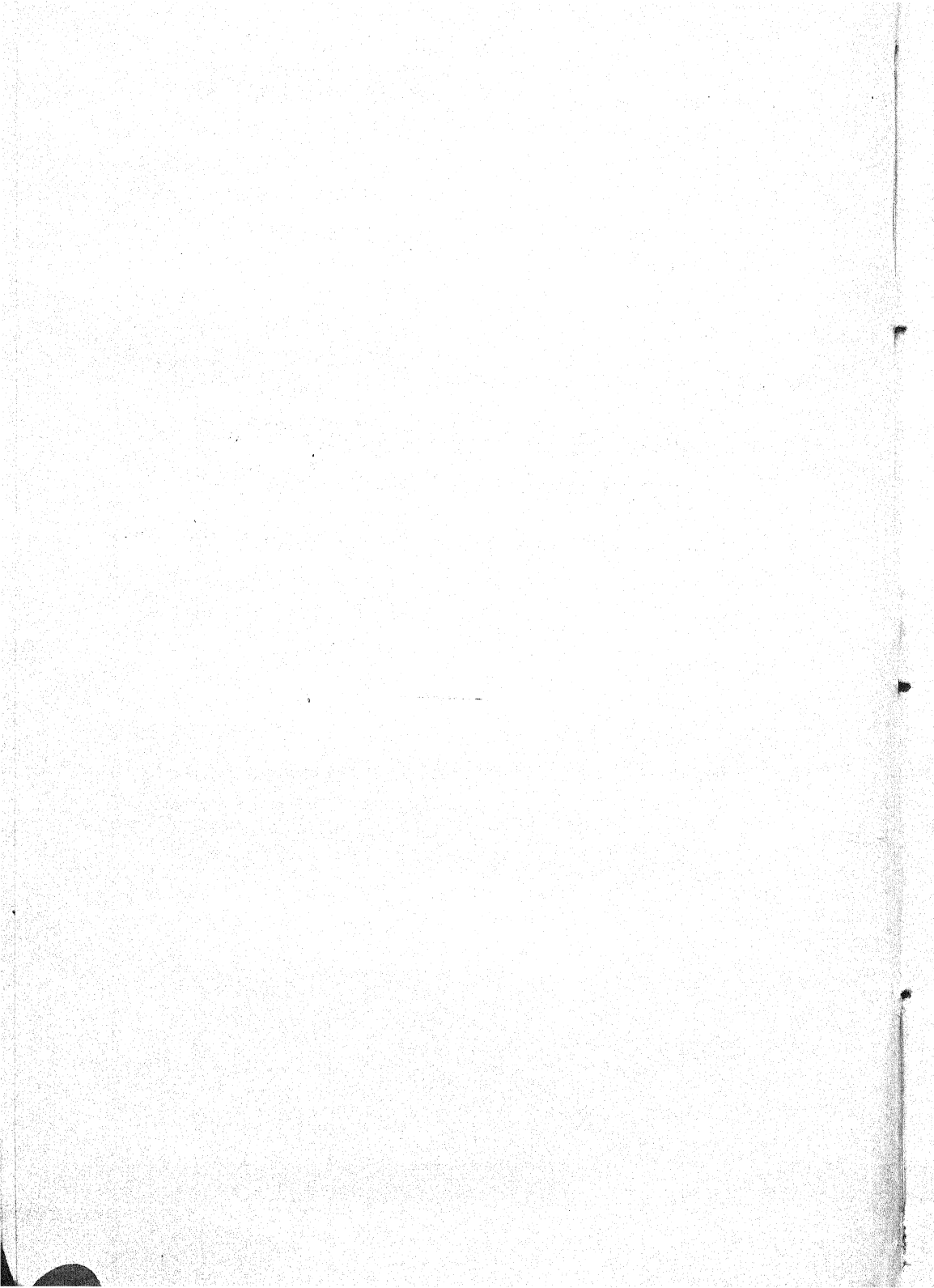
them vanishes, and instead of offering opposition to Jnana, the works prove a very useful ally.

The rights therefore of karmas as separate and rival interests, as rival ends-in-themselves—must die ; because karma is *superseded and included* in one supreme interest or End of life. All works thus become *an element* in this one interest, and *organic to* this one central purpose.¹ All works now become the medium, the vehicle, the opportunity for the realisation, in and through them, of the spiritual purpose—

“सर्व्वं कर्म्मखिलं पार्थ ! ज्ञाने परिसमाप्यते” (Gita).

“कृत्स्नस्य च कर्म्मफलस्य विद्याफले अन्तर्भावात्” (Ved. bhā.).

¹ “.....सत्कर्म्म प्रणाद्या मोक्षकारणं भवति । कर्म्मणोपि ज्ञानसंयुक्तस्य ‘मोक्षकार्य’ लोपपत्तेः इत्यादि ।



Notes on Vajra

BY

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1. *Earliest references.*—The earliest mention of the Vajra or thunderbolt is to be found in the Ṛigveda. Indra, one of the greatest of the Vedic deities, wields the Vajra, wherewith Vṛitra was slain.¹ This weapon which represented celestial fire or lightning was not a mere mythical idea. It must have denoted a definite object; for in the Ṛigveda it is sometimes described as *āyasa*, i.e., 'made of metal,' and sometimes as *aśman*, i.e., a 'stone.'² The Vedic literature contains also ample references to its size and shape; but most of them are to us too vague, and do not convey any natural or intelligible sense. But in the Taittirīya Samhitā there is one passage (VI. 1. 3), at any rate, which is somewhat of a more definite nature. According to it the Vajra is conceived as containing arrows within it. The text says, "Indra hurled his thunderbolt against Vṛitra; it divided into three parts; one-third, the wooden sword, one-third, the chariot and one-third the sacrificial post. The internal arrows which were split (*acīryanta*) became Śara grass, and that is why Śara grass is so called. The thunderbolt is Śara grass."³ The Vajra must have been thus a deadly weapon and when discharged the internal arrows were sure to create havoc in the enemy's lines.

¹ Compare Babylonian Mythology which puts the thunderbolt in the hands of Marduk with which he destroys the monster Tiāmat—see *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, by L. W. King, p. 71 and pl. opposite p. 74.

² Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 55: *vajram āyasam* (1. 52. 8) and *aśmanam* (7. 104. 19).

³ A. B. Keith, *Veda of Black Yajus School* (Harv. Or. Ser.), Part 2, p. 488 and n. 1.

It must have served as a useful implement for warfare in the Vedic period. And it was so known even as late as the *Lalitavistara*¹ which mentions it as one of the most fearful weapons levelled against Gautama by Māra.

Professor Macdonell, in his *Vedic Mythology*,² refers to a number of Vedic passages concerning the thunderbolt. But there are a good many more which throw a flood of light on the origin of its conception as a cult-object. It is to some of them that I should like to draw here particular attention. The Vajra must have been a household word with the Vedic Āryas. So impressed were they by its marvellous qualities that it could not but figure prominently in the writings they have left to us. It was a practice too common with the Vedic composers to compare an object with *Vajra* whenever a suitable occasion for it presented itself. Ample illustrations of this practice are to be found in the Samhitās as well as Brāhmaṇas, of which a few only will suffice here. The chariot *e.g.* is compared to the Vajra. *Vajra vai rathah vajren = aiva diso = bhijayati*.³ The *ājya* or sacrificial butter is called thunderbolt, because like the latter it dispels the Rākshasas from the sacrifice: *Vajra vai ājyam*.⁴ Water is called thunderbolt: *Vajro hi āpah*.⁵ The *aśvamedha* horse is compared to the thunderbolt in that the former dispels evils: *Vajrī vā aśvah prajāpatyah vajren = aiva pāpmānam bhrātṛivam = avakrāmati*.⁶ Even the wheel of the chariot is compared to the same weapon. *Vajro vai chakram*.⁷ And so on and so on.

¹ Ed. R. L. Mitra, p. 401; cf. also p. 267.

² See pp. 55, 79, 109, 147.

³ *Taitt. Br.* (Ānandāśrama Ed.), Vol. I, p. 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 1204, and cf. *Sat. Br.* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. III, 3. 5. 6.

⁵ *Sat. Br.*, Vol. III, 1. 2. 6.

⁶ *Taitt. Br.*, Vol. III, p. 1168.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 190.

All these illustrations show that a comparison is instituted whenever a particular object appears to the speakers to be of a beneficial nature. To the eyes of the Vedic Āryas the object most beneficial was undoubtedly the Vajra. Curiously enough, the thunderbolt at times seems to have been looked upon as a source of benefit even as great as the oblation itself. Thus in connection with the Ājyabhāga ceremony we have the following passage: "The oblation is the bolt, the portions of the oblation are a bolt, the Vaṣat call is a bolt and hurls it at his foe, so as not to make a failure."¹ The magical and supernatural properties of Vajra must have been thus conceived at a comparatively early period. In a passage of the Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa, water is called thunderbolt, because "wherever the waters flow, there they destroy evil;.....hence when it rains, one should go about uncovered, thinking "may that thunderbolt remove evil from me."² The passage is important as it refers to a curious faith the Vedic Aryans had in the mystic properties of the Vajra.

A hymn in the Yajurveda in connection with the Piling of Fire Altar contains a reference to "Vajriṇī bricks" which form one of the layers of the altar. The actual significance of this word is lost. But it is not impossible that the bricks either represented, or bore representations of, Vajra. The Vajriṇī bricks are addressed as follows :

" Thou art the thunderbolt of Indra slaying foes,
Guarding our bodies lying in wait ;
He who in east, south, west,
In the north, as a foe plots against us,
May he strike on this rock."

* * *

¹ *Taitt. Saṁ.*, II, 6. 2. 4-5.

² *SBE.*, Vol. III, p. 413.

“In that he puts down the thunderbolt (bricks) he repels his foes with arrow and thunderbolt.”¹

It is from these stray passages that we can trace the beginnings of a Vajra cult in India. Whether the weapon came to occupy in that early period the full status of a ‘cult-object’ in the proper sense of the term is rather difficult to say. But sure it is that so early as that the worshipability of the thunderbolt was clearly recognised.²

2. *Origins of Epic Śiva*.—Indra, as I have already stated, was the principal deity who carried the thunderbolt. In a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Ch. VI. 9) he is addressed as “thunderbolt”³ and by that appellation he is also called in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.⁴ But Indra was not the only thunder-deity of the Vedic period. The Vajra was held also by Rudra and his sons the Maruts.⁵ The latter in the R̥gveda are sometimes called as *vidyud-dhasta* (VIII. 7. 25) and sometimes as *vajra-hasta* (VIII. 7. 32). According to a passage of the Yajur-veda Agni had his bolts (*Taitt. Sam.*, IV. 6. 1). And according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the attribute belonged also to Āditya or the Sun.⁶ In the Vājasaneyasaṁhitā Rudra is called Bhava and Śarva. And under these appellations he is invoked in the Atharvaveda “to launch the lightning against the doer of wickedness.” His eighth name Aśani (or thunderbolt) is mentioned in the Śatapatha and Kaushitakī Brāhmaṇas.⁷ The primary

¹ *Taitt. Sam.*, V. 3. See Keith's trans., *Veda of Black Yajus School*, Part 2, p. 470.

² Information regarding the worship of axe, double-axe and other implements representing thunderbolt in the Bronze Age has been collected by P. M. Déchelette in his *Manuel D'Archeologie*, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 479-484.

³ *R̥gveda Brāhmaṇas*, trans. Keith (Harvard Or. Ser.), p. 378.

⁴ *SBE.*, Vol. 5, p. 116.

⁵ *Ved. Myth.*, pp. 74, 79.

⁶ *SBE.*, Vol. 4, p. 85.

⁷ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, pp. 104-5.

connection of Rudra with lightning is therefore sufficiently clear and intelligible. The Vedic Rudra, as we all know, is the predecessor of the Epic Śiva.¹ It may therefore be assumed that the latter's conception was based on the conception of a lightning god.

Thus it is that Rudra's thunderbolt has come down to Śiva, who holds it, for instance, on the Kushān coins, which bear his representations; and thereon also, as a reminiscence of his Vedic predecessor, he is represented as carrying a club.² But there are other attributes of Śiva the origin of which cannot be explained in a similar way, namely, by the assumption of a Vedic heritage. These are the triśūla, the axe and the bull,³ which are wanting in the Vedic Rudra. In the epics Śiva is called "trident-holder" and his characteristic sign is the Bull.⁴ The question therefore arises, from what source could Śiva probably derive these attributes. Both the triśūla and the axe occur along with the Vajra in the hands of Śiva as represented on Kushān coins. But in all his later representations the Vajra has disappeared altogether, and the triśūla and the axe have become his constant attributes. Of the axe I shall have occasion to say something later. But what does the triśūla represent, and what again is its origin? So far as India is concerned it is impossible to push our enquiry back into the earliest period. For the object is nowhere described or even referred to, in the Vedic literature. On the other hand from about the second millennium B. C. it appears frequently on the artistic remains of W. Asia.⁵ The only difference between an Indian and a W. Asian triśūla is this: in the latter the three prongs of the weapon are drawn

¹ Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 388.

² See Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushāns*, p. 66, No. 90.

³ See Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 223.

⁴ *Rām.*, VII, 8, 54-66.

⁵ See illustrations in W. H. Ward, *Seals and Cylinders of Western Asia*.

wavy, but in the former such is not however the case. It has long been recognised by archæologists that by the wavy lines lightning is represented in W. Asian art. Jacobosthal has shown that this form of the weapon was the parent of the Greek triania.¹ It is not unlikely that just as it entered Greece so also it found its way into India and was adopted in art. Of the three traits of Śiva, which we cannot trace to an Indian origin, one at least may thus be undeniably connected with Mesopotamian art. Let us now see if the other two attributes also are traceable to the same source. Now in Adad, the Assyro-Babylonian thunder-deity, we meet with all the three attributes, namely the trident, the axe and the bull. He wields the axe in one hand, and the trisūla in the other, and rides on a bull as well. It is thus worth our while to institute a comparison between the two lightning gods, Adad and Śiva, and note the points of similarity which they bear in common.²

We cannot be definite, I must confess, in the present state of our knowledge as to the genesis of the Epic Śiva. But I think it is certainly worthy of consideration if it was from the Hittite god Adad that Śiva drew his inspiration. Assuming for instance that to have been the case, how could possibly have such an opportunity of adaptation presented itself? The researches of V. K. Rajwade (Proc., Poona Oriental Conference, I, p. xi) and others seem to show that the Assyrians were once neighbours of Indian Aryans. The Asuras who are so frequently mentioned in Vedic literature have been identified with the Assyrians. That the Indian Aryans were acquainted with their speech follows from a passage (Jayaswal, ZDMG. 1914, p. 719) in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which is

¹ Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* (1910), pp. 43-44.

² Cf. also the Cretan Bull-God, Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 62, n. 2.

also quoted in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* (Kielhorn, I, p. 10).

There is therefore some evidence to show an Assyro-Indo-Aryano contact in a very early period. Whether it came about in India itself, or somewhere outside India, is a question which need not concern us for the present.¹ Śiva, as I have said, is a descendant of Rudra. According to some Vedic texts as interpreted by Oldenberg the abode of Rudra is commonly regarded as in the north, while that of the other gods as in the east.² And taking the archæological evidence into consideration it would also appear that the early cradle of the Śiva-cult lay somewhere in the Northern direction. From the North-Western Frontier and the Oxus Valley we have some of the most antique representations of Śiva. He was a favourite deity of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares and his successors, as well as of the early and later Kushān princes. One of the coins of Huvishka throws interesting sidelight on the question of the out-Indian origin of Śiva. On the reverse of this coin there are representations of two deities facing one another, who are labelled there as NANA and OHPO.³ Nana is a Zoroastrian goddess and 'Oesho' is of course Śiva. The association of Śiva with a Zoroastrian goddess probably indicates his foreign origin. Even in the post-Kushān period, we have numismatic evidence to show, that Śaivism was flourishing under a dynasty of barbarian princes, viz., the Scytho-Sassanians.⁴ There is again the testimony of a Kharoshthī inscription⁵ which comes from a place called

¹ Professor Bhandarkar thinks that this contact came about in India about the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period, if not somewhat earlier. See his forthcoming book *Aśoka*.

² *Ved. Myth.*, p. 76.

³ Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins*, Vol. I, p. 197, no. 135 and pl. XVIII.

⁴ Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl. II, fig. 15.

⁵ Ed. Sten Konow, *Sitz. K. Preuss. Akademied. Wiss.*, 1916, pp. 802-3.

Panjtar on the North-western Frontier. In it we are told that at least in the first century A.D. there was a *Śiva-sthala*, i.e., 'place of Śiva' near about the site where the record has been found. A seal bearing the representation of Adad and an inscription mentioning his name was discovered in the Central Provinces and is now deposited in the Nagpur Museum.¹ The relic has been assigned to circa 2000 B.C. The discovery of the seal shows that there was certainly some possibility at any rate of Adad being known to the people of Ancient India. Eminent scholars like Hopkins have proposed that the Dionysos of Megasthenes is identical with Śiva.² If that is so, it would follow that Śaivism had a North-western origin. But I am afraid too much stress cannot be laid on this identification. From what I have just stated there will remain no doubt that Rudrism as well as Śaivism had a North-western origin, and what is of greater consequence the latter betrays certain features the presence of which can be best explained by a hypothesis of culture-contact between India and Western Asia.

3. *Thunderbolt represented by axe and other implements*.—Above it has been stated that Śiva sometimes appears armed with the thunderbolt on Kushān coins. The object, it is to be noted, shows two distinct forms—one, a clear imitation of the classical thunderbolt, the *keraunos*, as appearing on Indo-Greek coins in the hands of Zeus and other deities,³ and the other bearing the likeness of a double axe or *bipennis*, i.e., an axe edged on both sides, but without the handle.⁴ The latter again bears undoubted resemblance to a type of thunderbolt

¹ JASB. (N. S.), 1914, p. 461.

² *Religions of India*, pp. 458-59.

³ Gardner, *B. M. C.*, Intro., p. lxxv, and cf. Pl. XI, fig. 7 and Pl. XXVIII, fig. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII, fig. 14.

which the Vajrapāṇi figures of the Gandhāra School hold in their hands.¹ It may however be remembered that this is not the only shape that the weapon takes in the art of Gandhāra. It has sometimes the shape of an axe, a celt or a hammer. The origin of these representations of the Vajra is to be found, in my opinion, in the belief, already taken note of by anthropologists, that prehistoric weapons like axe, celt or hammer have the character of thunderstones. More than two thousand years ago, as Oscar Montellius says,² the belief was widespread in Greece. In modern times also it has been traced in almost all countries, and the various sources of information in this connection have been ably collected by Dr. Blinkenberg in his excellent treatise on the thunder-weapon.³ In Denmark *e.g.*, the flint axes are commonly called thunderbolts, and until quite recently in Iceland "Thor's hammers" of stolen bell-metal were in use at exorcisms. Stone axes are popularly regarded as thunderbolts also in England, Scotland, Italy, Asia-Minor and other countries. Similar is the case in Assam, Burma, Cambodia and Japan. Even to this day the thunder-god of the Laplanders has hammer as one of his attributes. When even in modern India (*e.g.*, in Assam) the belief has been traced, the question naturally arises, whether the same is traceable in India of the ancient period also. Now at least in three places of the Yajurveda⁴ the axe, with which the victim in a sacrifice is slain, is called a thunderbolt. Thus it is said: "The axe is a thunderbolt, the splinter of the sacrificial post is a thunderbolt"—VI. 3. 7(4). And again—"O axe, harm him not," he says,

¹ Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 88; Foucher, *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique der Gandhara*, Vol. II.

² *Folklore*, 1910, p. 60.

³ Pp. 68-121.

⁴ Keith's trans., Part 2, pp. 517, 523, 524.

"the axe is a thunderbolt; (verily it serves) for atonement."—VI. 3. 9 (1-2) and 3. 3(2). In the Epic period the axe or *paraśu* is the weapon of Śiva and in his earliest representations too, as found on coins, it is one of his attributes. That he was a thunder-god I have already tried to show. His possession of the axe is therefore quite in keeping with his character as a thunder-god, as it is in the case of Adad, his congener, in the art of Western Asia. Archæologists are now all agreed in taking the axe, hammer and such other implements as symbolical of thunder, so far as the early period is concerned, and they have drawn attention to the fact that thunder-gods like Adad, Jupiter Dolichenus and Hephaistos are always characterized by some such weapon.

The origin of the *triśūla* or trident has already been discussed. A specimen of this weapon, which is of iron, has been discovered from a prehistoric burial site in the Tinnevely district.¹ The articles found in excavations carried on at the site in 1876 consisted of "upwards of fifty kinds of baked earthenware utensils of all sizes and shapes, a considerable number of iron weapons and implements, chiefly knives or short sword blades and hatchets, and a great quantity of bones and skulls." These are now in the Berlin Museum.² Why axes and other weapons including the trident were deposited in burials, it is difficult to say. Similar discoveries are also reported to have been made in Denmark.³ It is desirable that anthropologists should inquire into the matter and come forward with an explanation of this difficult problem. What appears probable is that the

¹ Rea, *ASR.*, 1902-3, p. 134, fig. 17.

² *ASR.*, 1902-3, p. 115.

³ Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 83.

trident in such cases is associated with some form of funeral rites. Unfortunately however the age of the trident from the Tinnevely burial site cannot be determined. The trident is worshipped even to this day in various parts of India, and so it must have been in Ancient India also. In the *Lalitavistara* there is a passage which says that worship was done, among other objects, to the *triśūla*.

The earliest representations of the trident in Indian plastic art occur on clay seals dating from the second century B.C.¹ From a very remote period the weapon must have come into intimate connection with the axe. Dr. Blinkenberg has noticed a Roman coin bearing the representation of a double axe in combination with the trident.² A similar combination is found also on Audumbara, Indo-Greek, Kushān, and even Gupta coins. On Kushān coins the combined axe and trident is placed before an altar to which the king is seen approaching, he himself in some cases carrying this strange weapon.³ Again just as on Indo-Greek coins the thunderbolt alone sometimes appears, so also on these pieces, the combined weapon, or simply the trident, instead of the deity for whom it is intended.⁴ A coin of Zoilos may be noted in this connection: on its reverse there is a representation of the combined weapon, as well as that of Pallas hurling the thunderbolt.⁵ In Nepal where the principal deity is Paśupati the combined weapon re-appears on coins as late as the Gupta period.⁶

¹ "Excavations at Basarh"—*ASR.*, 1903-4, pl. XL, 2; *ASR.*, 1913-14, pl. XLIX, 574.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 50, fig. 23, and fig. 36.

³ Whitehead, *PMC*, Pl. XVI, fig. 136, Pl. XVII, fig. 36.

⁴ *E.g. Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, fig. 34.

⁵ Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, Pl. IV, fig. 3.

⁶ *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, Pl. XII, fig. 12.

A double trident sometimes stands for the thunderbolt.¹ This is found *e.g.*, on the coins of Nahapāna.² The Tibetan *do-rje* evidently grew out of this type. When the three prongs of a double trident are joined with a line, on both the sides of the weapon, it becomes a Tibetan Vajra. In a painted panel discovered at Dandān Uiliq in Central Asia a *trimūrti* figure has in one of his hands a double-tridented type of Vajra.³ Similarly, Vajra is denoted often by a double spear. In another panel from the same site is depicted a divine figure who holds a double spear in his hand.⁴ On a careful examination it becomes clear that the figure represents Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva and that the attribute is a Vajra. An object exactly like this weapon is to be found in the possession of another figure in a painting discovered by Professor Grünwedel in his Second Turfan Expedition.⁵ This figure which is one of a composite group is placed close to Buddha and occupies the same position as Vajrapāṇi does in Gandhāra art. Just as a double axe or a double trident denotes the thunderbolt, so also therefore does a double spear. Thus in the art of Ancient India the thunderbolt was represented by the trident, the axe, the combined axe and trident, the double axe, the double trident and the double spear.⁶ A similar thing is reported also of Knossos and Mycenæ, where, as the discovery of Sir Arthur Evans shows, double axes were worshipped as lightning gods.

4. *Greek and Indian thunder-gods: Hephaistos and Viśvakarman.*—About the second century B.C. the Greek religion had become established in Parthia. The coins of

¹ Cf. the figure of a Japanese demon having a double trident, Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

² Rapson, *B. M. C.*, Pl. IX, figs. 249, 250.

³ Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIV.

⁵ *Zeitschr. f. Ethn.*, 1909, p. 899, fig. 5.

⁶ Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17-20.

Mithridates I bear portraits of Zeus, Herakles and other Greek deities. According to Tacitus, Herakles was worshipped in the Parthian territory during the reign of Gotazes.¹ The religion had however advanced further eastward, to the shores of the Indus, where some Greek dynasties were holding sway in the second century B.C. On their coins, as well as on those of the dynasties that follow, there occur representations of Greek thunder-deities and the Greek form of the thunderbolt, *keramos*. But the features of gods and goddesses thereon represented are not always purely Greek in form. Professor Gardner was the first to have noticed non-Hellenic elements in some of these representations, especially those which are of a later period. Thus, for instance, in a particular type "a seated Zeus grasps in his extended hand, not, as usual a victory or a thunderbolt, but a being who seems an impersonation of the thunderbolt"; and again on coins of Agathocles Zeus bears in his hand the three-headed Hekate. "The influence of local Indian or Persian legend or belief" might have been probably responsible, as Professor Gardner thinks, for "such strange forms of Greek deities" appearing on the coins of this period.² The same influence is traceable in my opinion in the figure of Athsho or Hephaistos as depicted on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. The figure is of two types: (1) in which the deity is bearded and radiate with fillet in right hand and tongs in left, and (2) in which the deity is bearded and radiate with hammer in right hand and tongs in left.³ On one specimen of type (1) this oriental deity Athsho is

¹ Wroth, *Catalogue of Parthian Coins*, Intr.

² P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, Intr., pp. lvii-lviii.

³ See Whitehead, *Cat. of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, p. 190, no. 92 (pl. XVIII), and p. 196, no. 125 (pl. XVIII).

called Hephaistos.¹ With regard to the two attributes tongs and hammer it may be noted that Hephaistos never has the former in Greek art. He bears invariably either the hammer or the axe.² Whence therefore does he receive tongs as one of his attributes? It is well-known that the exact parallel of Hephaistos in Indian mythology is Viṣvakarman. The latter is described by Hemādri as follows:

Viṣvakarmā tu kartavyaḥ sura-rūpa-dharaḥ prabhuḥ saṁdamśa-
pāṇir=dvibhujas=tejomūrti-dharo mahān—Vratākhaṇḍa,
Chap. I, p. 104.

Viṣvakarman is here represented as having a *saṁdamśa* or 'tongs' in his hand. From the same author we learn that the tongs was an attribute common to many other Brahmanic gods. Thus god Piṅgala has tongs in one hand and *kuliśa* or bolt in another (p. 219). Again the tongs is found in the Vāgīśvarī image in the Indian Museum which belongs to the reign of Gopāla of Bengal. So the tongs is a peculiarly Eastern attribute. It may therefore be assumed that here is another case of orientalisation. The god figured on the coins is no doubt called Hephaistos, but he belongs probably to an intermixed type due to the influence of a peculiarly Indian deity.

There are proofs to show that there existed Greek colonies in India in the third century B.C. But are there any proofs to show that the Indians ever came in contact with the religion of the Greeks? There

¹ *Coins of the Kushāns*, pl. XVI, no. 11.

² A word of explanation is needed for introducing Hephaistos here and taking him to be a god of lightning. Dr. Farnell has raised his protest against the older school of Mythologists who connect him with the celestial fire. He concludes that Hephaistos has connection with terrestrial fire, but not with lightning (*Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. V, pp. 375-76). But scholars like Oscar Montellius have no doubt that he is a lightning god. In Greek art he is depicted with a hammer or a double axe which have now been proved to be symbolical of lightning (*Folklore*, 1910, p. 65).

is a coin of Eucratides which bears the portrait of a deity on the reverse, labelled as *Kaviṣiye nagara-devata*, i.e., 'the tutelary deity of Kapiṣi.' This deity has been identified with Zeus by numismatists, and as a matter of fact in every detail the two deities correspond entirely. It has however been argued that as Kapiṣi is the name of a Hindu town the deity appearing on the coin of Eucratides must have been a Hindu deity also, but of course under Greek garb.¹ But if the deity in appearance does not differ from Zeus and if it be a fact that gods including Zeus himself, who are *ex hypothesi* Greek, do occur on the coins of Eucratides as well as on those of other Indo-Greek potentates, is it not proper to take this figure to be also of Zeus? On the mere basis that the portrait is labelled as the tutelary deity of a Hindu town, we cannot of course agree to take him to be an Indian deity. It is more natural to identify him with Greek Zeus and conclude that a section of the Indians, living in Kapiṣā, came under the influence of Greek culture. The appearance of non-Hellenic elements in representations of Greek deities is perhaps to be attributed to a fusion of Indian and Greek cultures.

Viśvakarman stands to Indra in the same relation as Hephaistos does to Zeus. He is the same as Vedic Tvasṭṛi who forged Indra's thunderbolt. In Greek mythology also the bolt of Zeus was made by Hephaistos who in their earliest literature is described as 'a divinity of metal-work and of the arts that used fire as an implement.'² Thus both Viśvakarman and Hephaistos are smith-gods.

5. *Viśva-karman*.—In the Brāhmaṇas, Viśvakarman is the same as the creator Prajāpati.³ According to

¹ Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 34.

² Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. V, p. 377.

³ *Ved. Myth.*, pp. 117-118.

the Chhāndogya (VIII. 5. 5) and Kaushitakī (1.3) Upanishads the heaven was built by Prabhu or Vibhu who corresponds no doubt to Vedic Viśvakarman.¹ Next he is represented as a giant builder in Buddhist literature in which he appears as a constant associate of Śakra. And the two are often identified in the Epics. In Buddhist literature we find that whenever any construction is to be made Sakka (*i.e.*, Śakra) at once sends for Vissakamma (*i.e.*, Viśvakarman) who alone is competent to undertake it. The latter is represented as having magical powers : in a moment's notice he can raise a huge pile quite befitting his position as the great architect god. But however exalted his position might have been in this period there is no doubt that he has been later degraded to a much lower level. Henceforth nobody considers him to be as high as a *deva*. He is only a *devaputra*,² a deity of a lower order.

Viśvakarman appears as a great patron of arts and crafts in modern as well as medieval India. From his five sons the Kammalan, the South Indian craftsmen trace their descent. Of them the first-born Manu worked in iron ; the second Maya in wood ; the third Tvaṣṭra in brass, copper and alloys ; the fourth Śilpī in stone ; and the fifth Viśvajña was a gold and silversmith and jeweller. Regarding their father, Dr. Coomarswamy says, " Viśvakarma is not worshipped by craftsmen or others with offerings or ritual, but is often referred to in charms and songs connected with building operations, where he is invoked to ward off disasters and assist the craftsmen."³ In Northern India, however, the custom is different. The craftsmen and working people of Northern India hold a festival in honour of Viśvakarman every autumn

¹ Barua, *Pre-Buddh. Ind. Philosophy*, p. 70.

² *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. III, p. 470.

³ See *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 63, 79.

and worship their respective tools and weapons. These are no doubt considered symbolical of the god himself. The predecessor of the *Viśvakarma-pūjā* was probably the ancient festival of Śakra¹ which was also performed in autumn. The earliest inscriptional evidence of the performance of the Śakra festival is to be found in a Mandasor inscription, dated 404-5 A.D.² Thus whereas the custom of worshipping Viśvakarman has remained in the North, there is no trace of it in the South. But on the other hand, something analogous to the South-Indian beliefs regarding Viśvakarman in connection with a successful performance of the artist is traceable here also. Thus *e.g.*, an inscription discovered at Paikur in the district of Bankura, which mentions the name of a king Karna and dates from about the 12th century A.D., says that an image has been erected through the grace of god Viśvakarman (*Viśvakarmanah charaṇa-prasādāt*). The mythical character of Viśvakarman as a great builder is acknowledged even to this day by the common folk, who in this as well as in many other instances, have preserved a really genuine tradition. If anybody *e.g.*, goes on pilgrimage to a place where there are old temples and inquire about their maker, he is sure to be told that they have been built by god Viśvakarman and not by any human architect.

6. *Yaksha-Vajrapāṇi*.—The thunder-weapon plays a very important part in the history of Buddhism. To understand its significance fully we must try to explain when and in what connection it first made its appearance in Buddhist art and literature. On the bas-reliefs of Sāñchi and Bharhut the Vajra is nowhere to be found. It is

¹ *Indra-maha* or *Indra-mahotsava* is described in the *Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa*, Ed. Bolling and Negellein, 1902, Vol. I, Part 1, pp. 120-121.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 320.

only on the remains of the Gandhāra school of art that we meet with it for the first time. And almost about the same time it is found on Kushān coins in the hands of Śiva. "The Gandhāra sculptures almost invariably show close to Buddha himself, a strange figure," who bears "a peculiar club-like object" in his hand.¹ This object has been readily identified as the Vajra, though the identification of its possessor has caused much discussion. The most plausible theory is that started by M. Foucher who takes him to be Vajrapāṇi, the Yaksha.² On the Gandhāra reliefs, wherever there is a composite group with Buddha as the central figure the Vajra-bearer is sure to be met with. He is a constant attendant of the Teacher whom he follows like a shadow in every scene of his eventful life. In the earliest canonical works of the Buddhists a Yaksha Vajrapāṇi is absolutely wanting. In the Dīgha-Nikāya the term *Vajirapāṇi* occurs, but it denotes Śakra,³ the pre-eminent thunder-god of the Vedic period. It is only at a much later period, in the Buddhist Sanskrit works of the Northern School, that we are first acquainted with a Vajrapāṇi other than Śakra. He is called as a Yaksha *e.g.*, in the *Divyāvadāna*⁴ and the *Lalitavistara*.⁵ In the latter work it is stated, *Yaksha-kulam yato Vajrapāṇer-utpattiḥ*, *i.e.*, 'the Yaksha race in which Vajrapāṇi was born.' Thus almost simultaneously in the Buddhist art and literature of the Mahāyāna school a Yaksha was accorded a most warm reception. This launches us into a far more intricate problem, namely, what relations Buddhism

¹ Grünwedel, *Buddh. Art in India*, p. 87.

² *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Vol. II, article on 'Vajrapāṇi,' pp. 48-64.

³ *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II, p. 117. It is an attribute of Sakka also in Jātaka (II, p. 143). Śakra does not ordinarily possess Vajra in Gandhāra art. See *e.g.*, the Loriyan Tangai sculpture representing Buddha worshipped by Indra.

⁴ Ed. Cowel and Neil, p. 130.

⁵ Ed. R. L. Mitra, p. 75.

had with the Yaksha cult. In a very important paper published in Vol. IV of the *Journal of the Department of Letters* of the Calcutta University¹ Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has shown that before the rise of Buddhism the cult of the Yakshas occupied a very prominent place in the religious life of the people of Northern India. In Pali and Jaina texts there are ample references to the existence of Yaksha-chaityas in various parts of the country. Of this period however there is no sculptural evidence of the existence of a Yaksha cult. Images of Yaksha we begin to come across from about the second century B.C. or a little earlier. Two Yaksha statues have been discovered at Mathurā and two other come from Patna. Bas-reliefs of a good many Yakshas are found also on the railings of Sāñchī and Bharhut. A very interesting image of Mañibhadra, the Yaksha, has been discovered in the Gwalior State. The question is whether all these representations were meant for worship. In an inscription on the pedestal of the Gwalior image Mañibhadra is called *bhagavān*,² thereby proving his godhead. It shows that this image at any rate was set up for the purpose of worship. As regards the rest of the series nothing can be said with any certainty. The worship of this Yaksha-deity must have been of very early date. The Mañibhadra-chaitya is mentioned in the *Upāsaka-dāśa-sūtra*, and Mañibhadra is further referred to in the *Samyutta-Nikāya*.³ In later Buddhist texts Mañibhadra has become a follower and disciple of Buddha. In the Weber MSS. *e.g.*, he is represented to have communicated a charm to the *Mahāyaksha* Mañibhadra.⁴ Similarly another Yaksha, *viz.*, the Yaksha Vajrapāṇi,

¹ "Four Ancient Yaksha Statues," pp. 31 ff.

² *ASR.*, 1915-16, p. 106.

³ R. Chanda, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

⁴ Hoernle, *JASB.*, 1893, Part 1, p. 24.

who must have had first of all an independent cult of his own, is next made a staunch disciple of Buddha and like some of the Brahmanic gods, necessarily given a shelter in Buddhist Mythology. His subsequent development I shall consider immediately. It is here sufficient to notice that there arose a god of thunder also in the pantheon of the Yakshas, viz., Vajrapāṇi.

7. *Bodhisattva-Vajrapāṇi*.—In the list of Bodhisattvas which the writers of the Mahāyāna School have left to us mention is made of a Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi.¹ He is sometimes also called by the name of 'Vajrin,' which had hitherto been a monopoly of Indra or Śakra. In the *Bodhicharyāvatāra* of Śāntideva we have the following couplet :

Yam d. ishtv-aiva samtrastāḥ palāyante caturdiśam
Yamadūt-ādayo dushtās-tam namasyāmi Vajriṇam.

In his commentary the author explains *Vajriṇam* as *Vajrapāṇim Bodhisattvam*.² The religionists of the Northern School appear to have given him the highest position amongst the Bodhisattvas. In the *Krishṇayāmāri-Tantra* of which there is a MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (no. 9964) Vajrapāṇi is called *sarva-Tathāgat-ādhipati*, i.e., 'lord of all the Tathāgatas.' Now who is this Vajrapāṇi? Has he any connection with Vajrapāṇi, the Yaksha, who figures so prominently in the art and literature of the Northern Buddhists? I contend that they are identical—it is the Yaksha that ultimately developed into a Bodhisattva. To prove my point I shall here turn to Buddhist Sanskrit Literature and show what the traditional origin of this Bodhisattva was :

(1) Chapter XVII of the *Ashtasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (ed. Bib. Ind.) is devoted to the 'permanent

¹ Grünwedel, *Buddh. Art in India*, p. 184; and Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 48-50.

² Ed. Bib. Ind., p. 67.

qualities of Bodhisattvas, and incidentally Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi is introduced. He is definitely called *Vajrapāṇir-mahā-Yakshaḥ* (p. 333), i.e., 'the great Yaksha, Vajrapāṇi.'

(2) In a work called *Tathāgata-guhyaka* of which there is a MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi is called *Guhyak-ādhipati*, i.e., 'lord of the Guhyakas' or Yakshas. A story is related in this work of which the substance is this: Once on a time King Ajātasatru was astonished at the gigantic strength of Ārya Vajrapāṇi displayed in the great ease with which he lifted his mace. And he asked Buddha about its reason, whereon Buddha replied that Bodhisattvas are endowed with ten special or uncommon qualities. This story is quoted in the *Sikshā-samuchchaya* (Bib. Buddh. ed., p. 274 and n. 1) and appears, according to Watters, also in the Chinese version of the *Tathāgata-guhyaka*.

(3) In the *Paramārtha nāma Saṃgīti* (MS. No. 10741 G. of As. Soc. of Bengal) we have the following verse:

Atha Vajradharaḥ Śrīmān durdānta-damakaḥ paraḥ
Trailokya-vijayī viro Guhyarāt Kulīśeśvaraḥ.

The adjective *Guhyarāt* which qualifies Vajradhara, that is to say, Vajrapāṇi, is significant. It means, 'king of the Guhyas' or Yakshas.

Thus Buddhist Sanskrit works agree in claiming a Yaksha origin for the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. From evidence both literary and artistic, it would appear that at first a Yaksha Vajrapāṇi was introduced into Buddhist Mythology only as a devotee of Buddha. In this cadre he appears in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Divyāvadāna* to which reference has been already made. Again, Hiuen-Tsang mentions him as being with the Tathāgata when the latter subdued the Nāga Udyāna. And at the moment of Buddha's Nirvāṇa, the Vajra-bearer threw down

his Vajra and fell in a swoon to the ground.¹ This scene is of frequent occurrence on the Gandhāra reliefs, and reproduced also in Chinese art. In the art of Gandhāra Vajrapāṇi holds the Vajra, and often along with it, a fly-whisk as *e.g.*, his figure in the Dames Collection at Berlin. Very rarely in the Mathurā School also he is so represented.³ Thus there cannot be any doubt that the Yaksha was at first represented as a devotee of Buddha. Later on, as we find him in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, he has become a fulfilled Bodhisattva.

Let us now pass on to some of the representations of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. A pillar on the Main Terrace at Sāñchi numbered as 35 used to support on its capital a figure which has been reproduced on Pl. X, b of Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Sāñchi*. It dates from about the Gupta period. The hands of the figure are lost, but the Vajra-design still remains. In the inscription that the pillar bears it is called *Vajrapāṇi-stambha* (*i.e.*, 'pillar of Vajrapāṇi').⁴ But whether this is the Yaksha, or the Bodhisattva, Vajrapāṇi, it is not possible to decide. There is another figure in the round which is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is alleged to have come from Konārak in Orissa. The head-dress of the image shows him to be a Bodhisattva. His correct identification rests however on the proper recognition of the object he holds in his right hand. It is tridented in form and therefore may be taken to be a Vajra. The deity again carries a lotus stalk which also a Bodhisattva usually possesses. A few representations of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi have been collected by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia. On Pl. LX of his *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. II,

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chuang*, Vol. II, p. 35.

² Smith's *Fine Arts*, p. 106, fig. 59.

³ Vogel, *Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum*, p. 127, N. H. 5.

⁴ I owe this information to Mr. Chanda of the Indian Museum.

a painting of Vajrapāṇi is reproduced. The following characteristics which he bears are worthy of notice : (1) he has three faces ; (2) he wears tiger skin forming the loin cloth ; (3) he sits cross-legged on two couchant bulls ; and (4) has the *ardha-chandra* or half moon on his forehead. That the presence of these elements brings him into close connection with Śiva was first pointed out by M. Foucher.¹ This commonness of elements gives rise to the idea that here we have perhaps a blending of types, *viz.*, of the Bodhisattva and Śiva. It is also not unlikely that the prevalence of a Vajrapāṇi Śiva in Central Asia might be responsible for such a remarkable similarity. A blending of the ideas and types of Śiva and Bodhisattva did really take place in the art of Java, where Śiva is often represented as Bodhisattva (*J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 421). The influence of the *triśūla*-bearer Śiva upon Mahāyānistic Buddhist iconography requires to be fully investigated. We know, for instance, that the features of Śiva were imposed on Avalokiteśvara (*e.g.* *Simhanāda*). The same features are also shared by Hārītī, a female deity who bears the *triśūla* and the *kamaṇḍalu* as seen in a specimen discovered at Taxila. But all her representations do not bear these Śivaite characteristics. The lesson to be derived from it is this: the Mahāyāna Buddhists made an attempt, consciously or unconsciously, to shape the icons after Śiva—an attempt that is evidenced not only by contemporary Buddhistic sculptures, but also by iconographic texts.

A representation of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi occurs in my opinion in one of the frescoes at Paya-thon-zu in Burma.² According to M. Duroiselle it “represents a

¹ *Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, Vol. I, pp. 172 ff., and Vol. II, p. 39.

² *ASR.*, 1915-16, p. 88, pl. L, b.

deity with eight arms. It is not possible to identify exactly who this personage is; that he is a Bodhisattva is shown by his head dress and the stylized lotus flowers he is holding in two hands; in two other hands he holds what looks like a piece of cloth." What M. Duroiselle calls 'a piece of cloth' consists of three thick curves and is in reality a representation of Vajra. My arguments for this identification are two-fold. First, the object has marked resemblance to the Vajra as held by Sakka in a representation of the Kelisila Jātaka found in Burma itself.¹ Secondly, the same design of the weapon is found also elsewhere. As early as the time of Assurbanipal it appears on a relief from Nimrud representing the thundergod Adad of the Hittite peoples; and even so late as the 15th century A. D. or thereabout it re-appears in antiquities at Maya in Mexico where it is placed in the hands of the Sungod as well as the Raingod.² It therefore looks certain that the figure on the fresco at Paya-thon-zu which remains unidentified is that of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi.

I shall now turn to a number of Tibetan frescoes which the Rev. A. H. Francke discovered at Leh. A full description of these pieces will be found in *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 397 ff. Almost all the frescoes, it is to be noted, contain representations of the triad, Mañjuśrī, Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi.³ The usual labelling below the figures is: *Om maṇi-padme hūm om Vajrapāṇi hūm; om Vāgīśvarī hūm*. This formula, as Francke has shown, is traceable on the fragments discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in the Taklamakan desert dating from at least the 8th century A.D. A representation of the Buddhist

¹ *ASR.*, 1912-13, pl. LVI, fig. 35.

² Edward Seler, *Zeitsch. f. Ethn.*, 1909, p. 394, fig. 217; p. 410, fig. 261 & p. 798, fig. 471.

³ See Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 127.

triad is to be found on Pl. LXIV of Sir Aurel's *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. II, which reproduces a panel from Dandān Uiliq. In it Vajrapāṇi can be easily recognised. The figure in the middle is identified by Stein with Maitreya.¹ In his opinion the figure holds a *chakra* and a waterflask in his hands. I am however inclined to take the latter to be a lotus, and identify the deity as Padmapāṇi, one of the group of three appearing in Tibetan frescoes. It is not the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi alone who carries the thunderbolt. It is an attribute also of other Dhyānī Bodhisattvas,² e.g., Akshobhya and Padmapāṇi, in both Tibetan and North-Indian iconography. I may draw attention to a unique image of Padmapāṇi in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 3798). It belongs to the School of Magadha. To the left of the image there is carved a design representing of two thunderbolts placed crosswise, and another design on the pedestal represents a single thunderbolt. This shows that the mystic weapon was associated also with Padmapāṇi. Various other gods and goddesses arose in the Pantheon of the Northern Buddhists, who bore Vajra in their hands. It is useless to mention their names here. Their description will be found in M. Foucher's standard work on Buddhist Iconography and Alice Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

8. *Buddha's thunderbolt*.—The thunderbolt (Vajrāyudha) was imposed also upon Buddha (*Jātaka*, I, 273). In Buddhist Sanskrit literature Vajra is often called *Māra-nikṛintana* or 'the destroyer of Māra.' Māra is the god of evils who tried to interrupt Buddha's penance, but was ultimately defeated. It was believed that by means of the thunderbolt Buddha succeeded in defeating Māra. The scene of the former's victory over the lord of demons is frequently depicted in

¹ *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, pp. 260-61.

² *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 98.

sculptures of the Gandhāra School. But as yet the magical weapon is in no case given to the victor. In sculptures of a later period however Buddha's connection with Vajra is traceable. Images of Buddha discovered in Central Asia have often on their base a representation of thunderbolt.¹ The same design is to be noticed *e.g.* on an image from Sārnāth,² and another from Mahoba³ in Bundelkhand, belonging to the 11th or 12th century A. D. On sculptures of Bengal also the design is not absent.⁴ At least two such specimens are in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rājshāhi. Again I have seen a very late image of Buddha from Nepal in a private collection which has on the back of its seat an ornamental representation of Vajra. Now, wherever the design occurs in sculptures of Buddha he is invariably found seated in the *bhūmi-sparśa* pose, under the Bodhi Tree, thus recalling the scene of his mighty penance at Bodhgayā. And we know it was here that Buddha was assailed by the army of Māra on whom, however, he inflicted a crushing defeat. The explanation of the occurrence of the Vajra symbol on these sculptures of Buddha is not therefore far to seek. It denotes in a symbolical manner that it was with thunderbolt that Buddha won his victory over Māra.⁵

9. *Conclusion.*—From the mediæval period onwards the followers of the Vajrayāna sect of Buddhism as well as those of the later Brahmanic religion began to show a tendency for the worship of female deities. This tendency showed itself in its perfection in Nepal, Tibet and Bengal.

¹ *Ancient Khotan*, pl. LXXXIII, R. ii ($\frac{3}{4}$).

² *ASR.*, 1903-4, pl. LXIII, fig. 3.

³ *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 8, pl. 1, D.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Varendra Res. Soc.*, p. 2.

⁵ *JRAS.*, 1919, p. 87.

A large number of female deities soon arose, bearing mystic names and possessing various supernatural powers. These Buddhist goddesses and their male counterparts mostly bear the thunderbolt and the trident. In the Buddhism of this period the worship of Buddha has been overshadowed to a large extent by the worship of these 'upstarts' so to say, and by that of the thunderbolt, which now comes to occupy a very high position. There is a work called *Vajrāvalī* (ASB. no. G. 3855) which opens with an invocation to Śrī-Kulīśeśvara or god of 'thunderbolt.' It further gives the details of a rite called *Vajra-vrata* or 'worship of thunderbolt,' which was performed in order to scare away evils. The Vajra (*do. rje*) is even now worshipped in Tibet. Such a Vajra must have been the one described by Poussin and Thomas (*JRAS.*, 1916, pp. 733-35 and pl.). It bears an inscription which is a charm in the name of Vajrapāṇi. The Vajra is now an attribute of the Dalai Lama, the human representative of Vajrapāṇi. He was given the title *rDo-rje-hchang* (Vajradhara) by Altan Khan, King of the Mongols, in 1575 which he bears proudly on his seal.¹

The high position assigned to the thunderbolt in later Buddhism is noticeable in contemporary Brahmanic pantheon also. Thus it is not only the weapon of Indrāṇī but also of a good many other deities.² It has been already stated that in later art it is never assigned to Śiva. Nevertheless it does occur in the hands of his attendants. For instance a sculpture in the Indian Museum shows an attendant of Śiva holding Vajra and *triśūla* in his two hands.³ Again, just as the female deities of the later Buddhistic pantheon, like Tārā, Mārīchī and others, are

¹ *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 747.

² See Hemādri, *Vratakhanda*.

³ Bloch, *Suppl. Catalogue*, pp. 85-86, No. 8851.

armed with the Vajra, so also are the Śaktis of the contemporary Tāntric pantheon. Attention may be drawn to an image of a female deity (perhaps Durgā) in the Indian Museum (No. 3957), who holds Vajra in two of her hands. But the most interesting of all is the fact noted by Hemādri that the Vajra was worshipped also in its anthropomorphic form. He describes the deity as carrying two Vajras.¹ Thus the object which ought to be carried usurps the place of the carrier. There is no doubt that a comparative study of later Brahmanism and Buddhism based on their art and literature will yield wonderful data for the history of Indian Religions and Mythology.

¹ Ch. I, p. 168.

The Era of Menophres and the Sothic Calendar.

I.

By

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

In *Horae Aegyptiacae*, at p. 28, Reginald Stuart Poole, writing in 1850, says—

“It is as well known and established that the Egyptians had a great cycle of 1460 Julian and 1461 Vague Years, the commencement of which was marked by the rising of Sothis, in a certain manner, hitherto called ‘the heliacal rising,’ on the first day of the first month of the Vague Year. It is equally certain that one of these great cycles, called the ‘Sothic Cycles,’ commenced on the 20th July, B.C. 1322.”

At p. 31 Poole adds—

“Thus we see that the phenomenon which marked the commencement of the Sothic Cycle that began in the year B.C. 1322 was the rising of Sothis about one hour before sunrise at Memphis on the 20th of July, which then corresponded to the first day of the Vague Year.”

As regards the Era of Menophres, we find the following remark at p. 33—

“The well-known passage of Theon Alexandrinus, given by Cory in his ‘Ancient Fragments’ (2nd ed., pp. 329, 330) speaks of the commencement of the Sothic Cycle which commenced in the year B.C. 1322, in terms which justify us in saying that it was called the Era of Menophres.”

Then, passing to a discussion of the question whether there were any Sōthic Cycles before that which commenced in the year B.C. 1322, Poole, after considering the

evidence from the monuments and the testimony of ancient writers of authority, concludes thus at p. 37—

“All of which, when considered carefully, and weighed against the want of evidence on the other side, show satisfactorily that there is no reason whatever for saying that there was even one Sothic Cycle before the year B.C. 1322.”

Upon this our only comment is: “Wait and see.”

In *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 1912, at p. 15, Dr. H. R. Hall states as follows:—

“Neither the Egyptians nor the Babylonians ever devised a continuous chronological scheme based upon a fixed era. The Sothic Cycle of 1461 years, though it was used to regulate the calendar, was never used by the Egyptians as an era.”

On p. 19, after referring to Censorinus' statement in the 3rd century A.D. that the rising of Sirius had coincided with 1st Thoth in the year A.D. 139 and giving reasons for thinking that A.D. 143 is a more probable date than A.D. 139 for the beginning of a new Sothic cycle, Hall proceeds—

“We find that Theon of Alexandria, who evidently computes from the date 139 A.D., makes the preceding cycle begin in 1322 B.C., and calls it the ‘Era of Menophres.’ And the name Menophres is extremely like the ‘throne-name’ of Rameses I, Men-peh-ra, whom on other grounds we should be inclined to place very near this date.”

As a matter of fact, the throne-name of Rāmēsēs I was *not* “Men-peh-ra.” In *Horae Aegyptiacae*, at p. 257, we are given two of Rāmēsēs I's cartouches—one his own name, Rā-mes-sū, and the other his throne-name. In this latter, under the glyph for “peh,” there are two little cakes. These, I believe, reveal the name as having been “Men-pehti-rā.” It is difficult to imagine this being transmuted into “Menophres,” even by the ancient Greeks. We shall find, however, that there is really no need to resort to any such hypothesis,

however plausible it may be made to appear by deliberately twisting "Menpehti-rā" into "Men-peh-ra," or even "Men-peh-re," as some people unscrupulously do.

Referring to Professor Eduard Meyer's theory that the Sōthic calendar was first established in B.C. 4241, "when a Sothic period began," Dr. Hall at p. 25 says—

"Such an arrangement need not have been beyond the mental powers of people in the Neolithic stage of culture, but it would seem more probable that the calendar was really put into its regular shape on the occasion of the Sothic 'aeon' of 2781 B.C., about the time of the Vth Dynasty."

Dr. Hall was much nearer the truth than he realized when writing thus about B.C. 2781. About a decade afterwards, however, we find him veering right round, and practically accepting the view enunciated by Meyer. Further, it may be noted that B.C. 2781 was about the time of the VIth dynasty, not the Vth dynasty. As for the culture of the inhabitants of Khem c. B.C. 4241, it would be interesting to know whether Dr. Hall is *still* of opinion that they were then in the Neolithic stage.

Here it is convenient to state that I consider B.C. 4241 $\frac{198}{420}$ and B.C. 2780 $\frac{198}{480}$ (both artificial Cyclical "Coincidence-Epochs" according to the chronological system of the old Romic priests, as correlated with 2 Epiphi on the Fixed Clock—a Rising-date arbitrarily selected by the priests aforesaid) to be respectively more correct than blunt B.C. 4241 and blunt B.C. 2781. The calendrical date, however, from which Sōthis actually began to function hēliacally was 30 Paōni on the Fixed Clock; and if we go by that, the figures would then be B.C. 4247 $\frac{240}{480}$ and B.C. 2786 $\frac{240}{480}$. These figures, I may add, fall into place quite naturally in my Lists of regularly recurring *Sed* and *Hendi Hebs* and Sōthic-Risings for every and any cycle of 1,461 years, starting in each case from *zero*.

In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1923, Vol. I, at p. 248, Professor Peet states—

“...the civil calendar can only have been introduced at a moment when its first day coincided with the heliacal rising of Sothis which occurs on July 19th of the Julian Calendar, and marks the beginning of the rise of the Nile. In other words, at a certain moment the early Egyptian, having for some time observed that the length of the year was about 365 days, definitely introduced a calendar with a year of this length, and for its first day naturally chose that most important of all days in Egypt, the beginning of the fertilizing rise of the Nile, a day rendered the more striking because it coincided with the day of the heliacal rising of Sirius. This coincidence took place at the beginning of each Sothic period, and of the two which alone deserve consideration here, namely those which began in 2781 and 4241 B.C. respectively, the latter can be shown to be by far the more probable.”

And in the same work, at p. 265, speaking of the calendar, the months, and the five intercalary days, Dr. Hall says—

“It may have been in the year 4241 (or 4238) B.C. that this advance in civilization was made, as a Sothic period begins in that year. The year 2781 (or 2778) is too late, as before that time the calendar was in full working order.”

Thus we find Dr. Hall in 1923 holding opinions just the reverse of those he held in 1912. Against this, of course, nothing can be said. As we advance in knowledge, our views often change. Such changes of front may even be laudable, and not to change reprehensible. But in this case Dr. Hall has been unfortunate. His original position, though even that was not quite accurate, was nearer the truth than the view for which he has now abandoned it. This will be made abundantly clear presently.

Now, it is perfectly true that Poole speaks of a great cycle of 1460 Julian and 1461 Vague years; and Dr. Hall also, as above first quoted, speaks of “the Sothic cycle of 1461 years;” but the Sothic period contemplated by all

our Egyptologists was really one of 1460 spheroidal years, based on a spheroid of 365° , *i.e.*, on a year of 365 days. $365 \times 4 = 1460$. However, the ancient Egyptians—or Romiū, as I call them—did not always recognize a spheroid or year of that length. They also worked with an old original spheroid of only 360° . For that the cyclic period was 1,440 spheroidal years. Later they had a year of 13 months, of 28 days each, based on a spheroid of 364° . For that the cycle was 1,456 spheroidal years. Next came the 365° spheroid. But eventually, for their artificial or calendrical Year-form, they adopted a spheroid of $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ —approximately true to the Clock of Nature. For this the cycle was 1,461 spheroidal years. $365\frac{1}{4} \times 4$, or $360 \times 4\frac{28}{80} = 1,461$. Here the ordinary “unity” day or degree of the 360° spheroid was represented by $1\frac{7}{480}$. And for each of these various spheroids and cycles the sub-divisions were naturally different. One of these cyclical sub-divisions was what is usually called the *Sed-Heb* period. For the 360° spheroid it was 30 spheroidal years; for the 364° spheroid it was 28 spheroidal years; for the 365° spheroid it was $30\frac{5}{12}$ spheroidal years; and for the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ spheroid it was $30\frac{7}{16}$ spheroidal years. In common parlance, however, they were all loosely called “the 30 years’ period.” The *Hendi-Heb* period was the *Sed* period quadrupled, *i.e.*, on the 360° spheroid the *Hendi* was 120 spheroidal years; while on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ spheroid it was $121\frac{3}{4}$ spheroidal years.

Apparently, however, these learned gentleman—Professor Peet and Dr. Hall—draw no distinction between a cyclical period, however spheroidally based, associated with the star that gave its name to the Sōthic period (*i.e.* Sirius), and a cyclical period, we hardly know how based spheroidally, associated with one or other of the different stars which, throughout an indefinite past, must in this connection have preceded Sirius functionally. For it is

very certain that Sirius was not always the star whose annual hēliacal rising coincided cyclically with the rising of the Nile waters at the season of the Celestial Summer Solstice.

Hence, it is quite possible that, long before the institution of the calendar known as the Sōthic Calendar (because associated with the hēliacal rising, at the time of the Summer Solstice, of the specific star Sirius), the old Romiū had a calendar, even a cyclical calendar, based perhaps on a 365° spheroid, a 364° spheroid, or a 360° spheroid, but otherwise exactly similar to the Sōthic Calendar, except that it was associated, not with Sirius, but with some other specific star which was then performing the hēliacal functions that ultimately became so characteristic of the Dog-star.

The Era of Menophres and the Sothic Calendar.

II.

By

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

When was the Sōthic Calendar—the calendar that was based on the hēliacal functionings of Sirius when the annual rising of the Nile occurred at the terrestrial season of the Celestial Summer Solstice—officially adopted in ancient Khem? In other words—granting that the Romiū had a calendar “in full working order” even as early as B.C. $4241\frac{198}{480}$ —when did they begin to associate that calendar with the specific star α Canis Majoris, popularly known as Sirius, as coinciding, at its hēliacal rising, once in every cycle of 1,461 years, with the Summer Solstice and the commencement of the Inundation which occurred so punctually at that season?

Dr. Hall—who once thought that the Sōthic Calendar was really put into shape about B.C. 2781—apparently now prefers B. C. 4241 (with Eduard Meyer), as B.C. 2781 (or 2778) would have been too late, since before that epoch the calendar was “in full working order.” It is just here that I venture to join issue with Dr. Hall. Had he said “calendar, the statement would have commanded assent; but since he says *the* calendar (meaning, of course, the calendar connected with Sirius, commonly called the Sōthic Calendar, his view is unconvincing. Indeed, I submit that it should be altogether rejected. The grounds on which I say so are these.

Biot, I believe, first—and after him Oppolzer—have shown by their calculations that certain inscriptions found

in the Rameseum at Thebes relate to the Vernal Equinox of B.C. 3285; and, assuming this to have been approximately the epoch when the Romiū made their earliest observations of Sōthis (Sirius), Sir Norman Lockyer suggested that previously they had been accustomed to make similar observations of Gamma Draconis; so that, somewhere about that time, there had probably been a change of cult, or at least a tendency thereto—Sirius in due time succeeding historically to the hēliacal functions of Gamma Draconis, with which star Sir Norman was of opinion that the goddess Hathor of Denderah was to be identified. In other words, Isis (the goddess of the Dog-star) succeeded to Hathor, and the 1460-years' cycle of the 365° spheroid was no longer associated officially with Gamma Draconis, or Hathor, but with Sōthis (Sirius), or Isis. This, indeed, was but a natural outcome of Precession, as, in course of that mighty movement, the Celestial Summer Solstice crept slowly but ceaselessly round the Zōdiacal Circle, and star succeeded to star as epochally marking, at its hēliacal rising, with the close of every cycle of 1,460 spheroidal years (1,461 years on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ spheroid), the commencement of the Inundation at that particular season of the year.

Now, B.C. 3285—the epoch of the suggested change of cult from Hathor to Isis—was only $504\frac{282}{480}$ years from B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$, but it was $956\frac{198}{480}$ years from B.C. $4241\frac{198}{480}$. Hence, if Biot's and Oppolzer's calculations are approximately correct, and if the institution of the Sōthic Calendar is to be associated with any such change of cult as that just referred to, the first Sōthic Cycle—*i.e.*, the 1,460 years' cycle of the 365° spheroid, *as specifically associated with Sirius*—is more likely to have been instituted in or about B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$ than in or about B.C. $4241\frac{198}{480}$.

Moreover, even at the last-mentioned epoch the Romiū may quite possibly have observed a similar

coincidence between Nature and some artificial cycle connected with the epochal hēliacal rising of a *star*; but then, it seems, that star would have been Gamma Draconis, not Sirius.

Therefore, there might quite possibly have been a calendar (in full working order) in Khem at an epoch so far back as B.C. $4241\frac{198}{480}$, and yet that calendar not have been the Sōthic Calendar. Possibly an appropriate name for it would be the "Draconian Calendar."

Of course, it must be remembered that these dates—B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$, and B.C. $4241\frac{198}{480}$ —are priestly dates, each representing the cyclical date of the half-way point of the great epochal 3-days' Festival (beginning *from* 30 Paōni on the Fixed Clock) celebrated once every spheroidal cycle by the all-powerful official hierarchy in honour of the impending "Manifestation" (*Epiphany*), or visibility, on F. 3 Epiphi, of the star that (like Sirius eventually) was, for the time being, functioning hēliacally.

If we have regard, not to the Chronological System of the old Romic priesthood, or officials, but to the operations of Nature herself, as spheroidally recorded, we shall find that the priestly Coincidence-date, B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$ (Hall's B.C. 2781, or 2778) yields place to B.C. $2786\frac{240}{480}$, or sphero-cyclical year $1217\frac{1}{2}$ on the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ spheroid = 1200 on the old original 360° spheroid—the epochal date when one Sirian, or other Stellar, Cycle closed, and its successor began; a point equating zōdiacally with F. 30 Ariēs, and calendrically with F. 30 Paōni; while B.C. $4241\frac{198}{480}$ —1,461 years earlier than B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$ —and which Hall calls B.C. 4241 or 4238—is represented by any one of the following 4 years—

B. C. $4249\frac{254}{480}$

„ $4248\frac{247}{480}$

„ $4247\frac{240}{480}$

„ $4246\frac{233}{480}$.

I shall set forth presently all the quadrenniums with which we are likely to be concerned, as they pan out on the basis of both Chronological Systems—the priestly and the Cosmical.

It does not much matter which group we base our calculations on—so long as we remember our choice for the time being, and consistently figure out our results in accordance with its exclusive values. As already stated, my *Heb*-list and List of Sōthic-Risings, from *zero* in every cycle of 1,461 spheroidal years, necessarily reveal the sphero-cyclical equivalent of B.C. $2786\frac{240}{480}$, which falls into place quite naturally. And from that we get B.C. $4247\frac{240}{480}$ by the simple process of adding a cycle of 1,461 years.

The Era of Menophres and the Sôthic Calendar.

III.

By

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

As, throughout each spheroidal cycle, the annual hēliacal-rising of Sirius, or Sôthis, occurred four times in succession on each day of the old Romic Calendar, and then moved on to the next day (so staging round the entire Clock), a quadrennium, or quartet of spheroidal years, was naturally the cyclical equivalent of every day in the year. But the spheroidal year differed with the spheroid that happened to be in vogue for the time being.

In other words, on the old original or "unity" spheroid of 360° , each calendrical day stood cyclically for 4 spheroidal (*i.e.*, in that case "unity" or ordinary) years—and the Cycle was 1440 (360×4) such ordinary years. With, however, a spheroid of $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ (the *true* basis of modern B. C. and A. D. reckoning), each calendrical day, being $1\frac{7}{480}$ ordinary or "unity" days, represents cyclically, no longer 4, but $4\frac{28}{480}$ spheroidal years, and the Cycle becomes 1461 ($365\frac{1}{4} \times 4$, or $360 \times 4\frac{28}{480}$) spheroidal, *i.e.*, old ordinary, years.

Note that "ordinary" year means a year on the old original or "unity" spheroid of 360° . It does *not* (as some influential people seem to think) equate for purposes of calculation with an ordinary year as now commonly understood; *i.e.*, expressed in figures, it is not the same as an ordinary year of modern reckoning, though B.C. and A. D. years are still stated in some quarters with that underlying confusion. Otherwise put, results arrived at on

the basis of a 360° spheroid (with its 1 day to a year) are not the same thing as results arrived at on the basis of our present $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ spheroid, with its $1\frac{7}{480}$ days to a year. Even if the figures happen to be identical, they mean in the one case something very different from what they mean in the other case—values being different. For instance, “B. C.” 1880 (Breasted’s date for the Kahūn Sōthic-Rising Feast), as the outcome of calculations based on a spheroid of 360° , or of 365° , is quite a different point in Time from B. C. 1880, the outcome of calculations by modern reckoning, *i.e.*, as based on a spheroid of $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$.

At the outset we must recognize, and bear in mind, that the spheroidal point *from* which commenced the actual, though invisible, hēliacal functioning of Sirius (in previous ages, say before B. C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$, perhaps the star α Dracōnis, divinized in ancient Qemt as Hathor), is 30 *Paōni* on the Fixed Clock, represented by spherocyclical year $1217\frac{1}{2}$, or B. C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$, last of its quadrennium, and zōdiacally equating with 30 Ariēs.

Then, as regards the so-called “Rising-point,” we have in fact a choice of no less than 4 distinct calendrical dates, *i.e.*—

(1) *F. 1 Epiphi* :—Equating zōdiacally with 1 Taurus. Actual first day of the New Order, and opening day of a great 3-days’ festival, celebrated by the old Romic priesthood once in every Cycle of 1461 years by the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ spheroid, in honour of the impending “Manifestation” of Cycle-announcing Sirius;

(2) *F. 2 Epiphi* :—Equating zōdiacally with 2 Taurus. Half-way day of the Great Festival, and the second quadrennial year of which (sphero-cyclical $1223\frac{282}{480}$, or B. C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$) was arbitrarily adopted by the priests, as marking, *for them*, the epoch when the beginning of the rising of the Nile and of the hēliacal functioning of Sirius about the time of the Celestial Summer Solstice occurred

simultaneously, *i.e.*, when Nature and the Calendar then in vogue coincided—hence called the “Coincidence-Epoch.”

(3) *F. 3 Epiphi*:—Equating zōdiacally with 3 Taurus. “Manifestation”-Day, when the Great Festival culminated and ended.

(4) *F. 4 Epiphi*:—Equating zōdiacally with 4 Taurus. First day of the New Sōthic Year and Cycle, as recognized by the Common People.

This is really why there is always a variation of 4 years in the ascertained date of any event.

Counting from the above-mentioned *zero-point*, *F. 30 Paōni*, the so-called Sōthic-Year, or Sōthic-Cycle, closed and re-opened *on any one of these 4 basic dates*, according to preference—though specially on *F. 2 Epiphi* (and more meticulously in the 2nd year of its quadrennium) for the exclusive priesthood.

If, now, we have regard to these exclusive priestly preferences, and to quadrennial formations as a whole, and as correlating *en bloc* with calendar-dates, we get, for *F. 2 EPIPHI*, the following series of Cyclical Quadrenniums, or Coincidence-Epochs—extendible, of course, at will, either way, back into the past, or forward into the future, as far as we may desire. Actually, as complete quadrennial formations, they were in harmony with NATURE; nevertheless, as adopted by the priests, when the latter arbitrarily selected that particular day as the hub of their chronological system, they became really artificial. Expressed in terms of modern reckoning, *i.e.*, on the basis of the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ -spheroid now in vogue, the series was this:—

B.C.	4242 $\frac{205}{480}$
„	4241 $\frac{198}{480}$
„	4240 $\frac{191}{480}$
„	4239 $\frac{184}{480}$

B.C.	2781 $\frac{205}{480}$
"	2780 $\frac{198}{480}$
"	2779 $\frac{191}{480}$
"	2778 $\frac{184}{480}$
"	1320 $\frac{205}{480}$
"	1319 $\frac{198}{480}$
"	1318 $\frac{191}{480}$
"	1317 $\frac{184}{480}$
A.D.	140 $\frac{275}{480}$
"	141 $\frac{282}{480}$
"	142 $\frac{289}{480}$
"	143 $\frac{296}{480}$

If, on the other hand, we have regard to the operations of NATURE herself (*e.g.*, to the 0-point of Time—sphero-cyclical year $1217\frac{1}{2}$, or B.C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$, last of its quadrennium—*i.e.*, F. 30 Paōni—from which the New Order, as representing a cosmic fact, actually started), and again take the whole quadrennium as a base, we get a somewhat different series of Coincidence-Quadrenniums in those which correlate with F. 1 EPIPHI (zodiacally 1 Taurus), first day of the actual though invisible heliacal functioning of Sirius, and opening-day of the priests' Great 3-days' Festival. This series is :—

B.C.	4246 $\frac{233}{480}$
"	4245 $\frac{226}{480}$
"	4244 $\frac{219}{480}$
"	4243 $\frac{212}{480}$
"	2785 $\frac{233}{480}$
"	2784 $\frac{226}{480}$
"	2783 $\frac{219}{480}$
"	2782 $\frac{212}{480}$
"	1324 $\frac{233}{480}$
"	1323 $\frac{226}{480}$
"	1322 $\frac{219}{480}$
"	1321 $\frac{212}{480}$

A.D.	$136\frac{2\frac{1}{2}}{480}$
"	$137\frac{2\frac{5}{8}}{480}$
"	$138\frac{2\frac{6}{8}}{480}$
"	$139\frac{2\frac{6}{8}}{480}$

It will be observed that A.D. 139—the date given by Censorinus, and from which Dr. H. R. Hall says that Theon of Alexandria “evidently computes” (*Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, p. 19)—does not occur in the first of the foregoing series of quadrenniums; but some may imagine (though they would be wrong) that in the second series it is identifiable under the guise of A.D. $138\frac{2\frac{6}{8}}{480}$. The Alexandrian date, A.D. 143—also alluded to by Hall—does not occur in the second series; but in the first series some may again think to see it in A.D. $142\frac{2\frac{6}{8}}{480}$. B.C. 1317 (which is sometimes cited) occurs, as we shall find, nowhere till we come to our quadrennial series for F. 3 Epiphi; and even there it is only in B.C. $1316\frac{1\frac{7}{8}}{480}$ that the uninitiated will seek to trace it. Perhaps, too, some will fancy that B.C. 1321 (frequently cited) is recognizable in B. C. $1320\frac{2\frac{0}{8}}{480}$ of our opening series. Also, no doubt, B.C. 1318 in $1317\frac{1\frac{8}{8}}{480}$ of the same series. All would err.

Again, by some, the idea might, perhaps very naturally, be entertained, of isolating the specific Coincidence-date (sphero-cyclical year $1223\frac{2\frac{8}{8}}{480}$, or B.C. $2780\frac{1\frac{0}{8}}{480}$) arbitrarily selected by the priests, in Pepi I's reign, or subsequently, and of taking it alone, in lieu of the entire quadrennium for F. 2 Epiphi, as a basic zero-point. In that case, the Coincidence-Quadrenniums (then only nominal) would seemingly pan out thus:—

B.C.	$4244\frac{2\frac{1}{8}}{480}$
"	$4243\frac{2\frac{1}{8}}{480}$
"	$4242\frac{2\frac{0}{8}}{480}$
"	$4241\frac{1\frac{9}{8}}{480}$

Here, presumably, would come in the priestly 0-point, B.C. $2780\frac{1\frac{0}{8}}{480}$ as supposedly representing its Quadrennium;

following upon which we should have:—

$$\text{B.C. } 1319\frac{198}{480}$$

$$,, \quad 1318\frac{191}{480}$$

$$,, \quad 1317\frac{184}{480}$$

$$,, \quad 1316\frac{177}{480}$$

$$\text{A.D. } 144\frac{303}{480}$$

$$,, \quad 145\frac{310}{480}$$

$$,, \quad 146\frac{317}{480}$$

$$,, \quad 147\frac{324}{480}$$

This, however, completely breaks up the *natural* quadrennial formations of the spheroid, and throws [their figures into disarray calendrically. True, the familiar B.C. $4241\frac{198}{480}$ appears in the earliest group, but out of its accustomed place; while the specially favoured year of the priests—sphero-cyclical $1223\frac{282}{480}$, or B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$ —which, a cycle later, corresponds to it—being attached to no quadrennium, hangs in space like Muhammad's coffin. "1321 B.C." is to be seen nowhere; "1317 B.C." is only seemingly in $1316\frac{177}{480}$; and there is nothing like "139 A.D." Moreover, even the resemblances are $365\frac{1}{4}$ -spheroid figures. In short, all is unnatural, because the foundation is deliberately artificial. The date specially adopted by the priests (sphero-cyclical year $1223\frac{282}{480}$) was merely one of a quartet of years answering to an arbitrarily selected day (F. 2 Epiphi), and recorded on the spheroid viewed as a measure of cyclical values. It had the advantage, like its correlated day, of being exactly mid-way between zero-point—F. 30 Paōni, *i.e.*, B.C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$, or sphero-cyclical year $1217\frac{1}{2}$ —and the ultimately visible rising-point, or "Manifestation," which took place on F. 3 Epiphi, last day of the Great Festival, *i.e.*, in natural quadrennium—

$$\text{B.C. } 2777\frac{177}{480}$$

$$,, \quad 2776\frac{170}{480}$$

$$,, \quad 2775\frac{163}{480}$$

$$,, \quad 2774\frac{156}{480}$$

On the whole, therefore, I do not think that this particular series of quadrenniums was one of the recognized working-features of the old Romic Chronological System. Our opening series (priestly, indeed, but based on natural and whole quadrenniums) is obviously preferable.

Reverting to NATURE, we obtain another series of epochal Coincidence-quadrenniums in those that correlate with that third or last day of the Great Festival, at some time during which hēliacally-functioning Sirius became visible, *i.e.*, F. 3 EPIPHI. Indeed, it was from this momentous event—this epochal *epiphany* of Sirius—that the month in which it annually took place got its name. The quadrenniums are—

B.C. 4238 $\frac{177}{480}$

„ 4237 $\frac{170}{480}$

„ 4236 $\frac{163}{480}$

„ 4235 $\frac{156}{480}$

„ 2777 $\frac{177}{480}$

„ 2776 $\frac{170}{480}$

„ 2775 $\frac{163}{480}$

„ 2774 $\frac{156}{480}$

„ 1316 $\frac{177}{480}$

„ 1315 $\frac{170}{480}$

„ 1314 $\frac{163}{480}$

„ 1313 $\frac{156}{480}$

A.D. 144 $\frac{303}{480}$

„ 145 $\frac{310}{480}$

„ 146 $\frac{317}{480}$

„ 147 $\frac{324}{480}$

Lastly—still keeping to NATURE—we obtain yet another series of epochal Coincidence-quadrenniums in those that correlate with F. 4 EPIPHI, first day of the new Sōthic Year and Cycle in popular estimation, and 57th

day from the start of the Solar Year or Cycle at 0 of the Celestial Summer Solstice. The quadrenniums are these—

B.C.	4234 $\frac{148}{480}$
"	4233 $\frac{148}{480}$
"	4232 $\frac{135}{480}$
"	4231 $\frac{128}{480}$
"	2773 $\frac{149}{480}$
"	2772 $\frac{142}{480}$
"	2771 $\frac{135}{480}$
"	2770 $\frac{128}{480}$
"	1312 $\frac{149}{480}$
"	1311 $\frac{142}{480}$
"	1310 $\frac{135}{480}$
"	1309 $\frac{128}{480}$
A.D.	148 $\frac{331}{480}$
"	149 $\frac{338}{480}$
"	150 $\frac{345}{480}$
"	151 $\frac{352}{480}$

At last, then, the cat is out of the bag! *Now* we see where the years spoken of, somewhat gingerly, by Dr. Hall and his fellow-Egyptologists ("4241 B.C. or 4238," "2781 B.C. or 2778," "1321 B.C. or 1318," and "139 A.D." and "143 A.D.") really come from. I do not mean that they come from these rationally arrived-at Coincidence-quadrenniums of ours. *They*, of course, are not the source, because they belong to a cycle of 1461 years based on a spheroid of $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$, quite different, in its arithmetical results, from the cycle of 1460, based on a spheroid of 365° , which was used by the Romiū in Sōthic times, and some vague idea whereof appears to have reached the mentality of our specialists. But other Coincidence-quadrenniums much resembling them, and all obviously belonging to this old 1460-years' cycle, *are* the source—though unrealized by the specialists. Like *our* Coincidence-quadrenniums, they also are in correlation with the basic

calendrical-dates F. 1, 2, 3, and 4 EPIPHI, and can be constructed accordingly. And not only will they differ from our Coincidence-quadrenniums, but each series will similarly differ from the others, its fellows.

For instance, for F. 1 EPIPHI, the series will be—

B.C.	4246 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	4245 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	4244 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
"	4243 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{0}{2}$
"	2786 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	2785 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	2784 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
"	2783 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{0}{2}$
"	1326 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	1325 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	1324 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
"	1323 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{0}{2}$
A.D.	1334 $\frac{0}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	1345 $\frac{0}{7}$ $\frac{0}{2}$
"	1355 $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
"	1365 $\frac{2}{7}$ $\frac{2}{2}$

Note that whereas, on the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ spheroid, the day was $1\frac{7}{480}$ days on the old original "unity" spheroid of 360° , on the 365° spheroid it was only $1\frac{1}{72}$ "unity" days.

So, for F. 2 EPIPHI, the series will be—

B.C.	4242 $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	4241 $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	4240 $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
"	4239 $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{0}{2}$
"	2782 $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	2781 $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{3}{2}$
"	2780 $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
"	2779 $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{0}{2}$

B.C.	1322 $\frac{9}{8}$
„	1321 $\frac{8}{2}$
„	1320 $\frac{7}{2}$
„	1319 $\frac{6}{2}$
A.D.	137 $\frac{5}{2}$
„	138 $\frac{5}{2}$
„	139 $\frac{5}{2}$
„	140 $\frac{5}{2}$

The remaining two series—those for F. 3 EPIPHI and F. 4 EPIPHI—will follow their own appropriate lines, and need not be set forth. Even here, however—in these epochal Coincidence-quadrenniums for the 1460-years' cycle, as based on the 365° spheroid—none of the years so non-committally referred to by the specialists are to be met with in exactly the same mutilated shapes as those in which they are cited. Nevertheless, year-forms, more or less approximating to them, *are* to be met with—obviously the living prototypes (each organically in harmony with its environment) of which the cited figures are nothing but vague and errant emanations. At the same time, no one series of Coincidence-quadrenniums yields *all* these figures, real or phantasmal. If some clearly are in one series, or seem to lurk there by reason of the similarity of their figures, others will be found in some other series. This is because—like the Coincidence-quadrenniums themselves—each year is the outcome of its own particular calendar-date, F. 1, or 2, or 3, or 4 EPIPHI. Take, for instance, Censorinus' so-called "A.D. 139." In that form, it is not to be traced : but possibly it is recognizable in the above A.D. 138 $\frac{5}{2}$ on the 1460-years' Cycle. It will appear in no other quadrennial series belonging to that Cycle—at least, not in the same place, or order. It will certainly not be found in any Coincidence-quadrenniums for the 1461-years' Cycle, even in approximate guise ; for it has no organic connection with that Cycle.

Whatever may be found will be something else essentially. It emerges arithmetically from "B.C. 1321," but only on the assumption that "B.C. 1321" is real, and after the lapse of 1460 years based on the 365° spheroid. Change the spheroid to one of $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ (whereof the Cycle is no longer 1460, but 1461, years), and, after the lapse of that period, the A.D. year that emerges is no longer "139," but 140. Similarly as regards the Alexandrian date, so-called A.D. "143." It is on the same cyclical footing, and comes arithmetically from "B.C. 1317." Were that year real, the true A.D. figure that would emerge is 144. Note, however, that in reality neither "B.C. 1321" nor "B.C. 1317" exists quadrennially on the 1460-years' Cycle as based on the 365° spheroid. Hence, neither Censorinus's "139" nor the Alexandrian date, "143," is a true A.D. date, for the simple reason that neither of them belongs to our modern system of reckoning, having no vital connection with the 1461-years' Cycle of the $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ spheroid now in vogue. Should any one—*e.g.*, any of the learned writers alluded to—insist that they *are* true A.D. dates, and have always been so accepted, then it becomes necessary to point out that, with a 1461-years' Cycle, "139" would take us back—not to such unrealities as "B.C. 1321," "B.C. 2781," and B.C. 4241," but—to B.C. 1322, B.C. 2783, and B.C. 4244. Indeed, Hall mentions "1322," as having been arrived at by Theon, working from "A.D. 139." In that case Theon would have been basing himself on a Cycle, not of 1460, but of 1461, years, and a spheroid, not of 365° , but of $365\frac{1}{4}^\circ$. But *was* he really doing this? Let the specialists answer. As a matter of fact, however, even B.C. 1322, 2783, and 4244 are all unreal dates too, not being Coincidence-quadrennium epochs at all on the 1461-years' Cycle. So also "143" would take us back—not to B.C. 1317, 2777 (*cf.* the specialists' 2778), and 4236 (*cf.* the specialists' 4238), but—to B.C. 1318, 2779, and 4240, which are also

unrealities, not being Coincidence-dates at all on that Cycle.

Thus, in these connections, not only have I shown that the specialists are insufficiently informed, and wrong, and groping in the dark; but I have also shown how and where they err. Moreover, in so doing, I have revealed—I believe for the first time—what the right idea and method and results are, and where a knowledge of these can be obtained.

As a guide, let us recall and remember the following main epochs—

Date.	Sphero-cyclical years.	B.C. years.	Nature of date.
30 Paōni	1214 $\frac{210}{480}$	2789 $\frac{261}{480}$	Zero-point at which the Old Order ends, and from which the New Order begins.
	1215 $\frac{256}{480}$	2788 $\frac{254}{480}$	
	1216 $\frac{233}{480}$	2787 $\frac{247}{480}$	
	1217 $\frac{240}{480}$	2786 $\frac{240}{480}$	
1 Epiphi	1218 $\frac{247}{480}$	2785 $\frac{233}{480}$	1st day of Actual Rising in heliacal character, and of Great 3-days' Festival.
	1219 $\frac{254}{480}$	2784 $\frac{226}{480}$	
	1220 $\frac{261}{480}$	2783 $\frac{219}{480}$	
	1221 $\frac{268}{480}$	2782 $\frac{212}{480}$	
2 „	1222 $\frac{275}{480}$	2781 $\frac{205}{480}$	Its second year the priestly Coincidence- Epoch.
	1223 $\frac{282}{480}$	2780 $\frac{198}{480}$	
	1224 $\frac{289}{480}$	2779 $\frac{191}{480}$	
	1225 $\frac{296}{480}$	2778 $\frac{184}{480}$	
3 „	1226 $\frac{303}{480}$	2777 $\frac{177}{480}$	“Manifestation” Day.
	1227 $\frac{310}{480}$	2776 $\frac{170}{480}$	
	1228 $\frac{317}{480}$	2775 $\frac{163}{480}$	
	1229 $\frac{324}{480}$	2774 $\frac{156}{480}$	
4 „	1230 $\frac{331}{480}$	2773 $\frac{149}{480}$	1st day of New Cycle for the Masses.
	1231 $\frac{338}{480}$	2772 $\frac{142}{480}$	
	1232 $\frac{345}{480}$	2771 $\frac{135}{480}$	
	1233 $\frac{352}{480}$	2770 $\frac{128}{480}$	

Also, for the purpose of converting Sōthic-calendar

data into Solar-calendar data on the 1461-years' cycle, bear in mind the following :—

“ Unity ” Years on the 360°
days. spheroid.

Between F. 30 Paōni, Sōthic, and

F. O-1 Thoth, Solar, lay ... 60 = 240, as last of its quadrennium.

Between F. 1 Epiphi, Sōthic, and

F. O-1 Thoth, Solar, lay ... 59 = 238, as second of its quadrennium, for the priests; otherwise 236, as last of its quadrennium.

Between F. 2 Epiphi, Sōthic, and

F. O-1 Thoth, Solar, lay ... 58 = 232, as last of its quadrennium.

Between F. 3 Epiphi, Sōthic, and

F. O-1 Thoth, Solar, lay ... 57 = 228, as last of its quadrennium.

Converting 360°-spheroid figures into 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ °-spheroid figures, the years representing differences at different stages between the Sōthic and the Solar Years are by modern reckoning as follows :—

For F. 1 Epiphi

246 $\frac{261}{480}$

245 $\frac{254}{480}$

244 $\frac{247}{480}$

243 $\frac{240}{480}$

„ 2 „

242 $\frac{233}{480}$

241 $\frac{226}{480}$

240 $\frac{219}{480}$

239 $\frac{212}{480}$

„ 3 „

238 $\frac{205}{480}$

237 $\frac{198}{480}$

236 $\frac{191}{480}$

235 $\frac{184}{480}$

For F. 4 Epiphi	234 $\frac{177}{480}$
	233 $\frac{170}{480}$
	232 $\frac{163}{480}$
	231 $\frac{156}{480}$.

To get Solar Coincidence-quadrenniums, therefore, from Sōthic Coincidence-quadrenniums, on the 1461-years' Cycle, we must add to the latter one member out of some one of the above sets of "Difference"-years (except in one case, it suffices to add the *last* of each quadrennial formation)—always remembering on what basis our calculations are being conducted. For instance, if on the basis of F. 1 Epiphi, we add 243 $\frac{1}{2}$ years, that being the last of its quadrennial formation; if on the basis of F. 2 Epiphi (narrow priestly method, which arbitrarily selects the *second* quadrennial year and constitutes it the heart of its system of chronology), we add, not the last year of the group, but 241 $\frac{226}{480}$, the second year; if on the same F. 2 Epiphi basis, but by the non-priestly method, we add 239 $\frac{212}{480}$, last of the group; if on the basis of F. 3 Epiphi, or "Manifestation"-Day, we add 235 $\frac{184}{480}$, last of its group; and if on the basis of F. 4 Epiphi, first day of the New Sōthic Cycle or Year, as popularly regarded, we add 231 $\frac{156}{480}$, last of its group, and equating with 228 (*i.e.*, 57×4) on the original old "unity" spheroid of 360°.

For example, augmented by 231 $\frac{156}{480}$, the earliest stated Coincidence-quadrennium of the F. 4 Epiphi series (Sōthic), set out *supra*, becomes Solarised into:—

B.C.	4465 $\frac{305}{480}$
"	4464 $\frac{298}{480}$
"	4463 $\frac{291}{480}$
"	4462 $\frac{284}{480}$

But, just as Sōthic data can be made Solar by augmentation, so, it would seem, they can be made Ussherian, or Conventional, by diminution. For this,

however, we have to resort to a particular epochal Coincidence-quadrennium (the one correlating with F. 3 Epiphi, or "Manifestation"-Day), and must diminish it by a particular "Difference"-year—not, as might be expected, the $235\frac{184}{480}$, associated with F. 3 Epiphi, but, strange, to say, the $231\frac{156}{480}$ associated with F. 4 Epiphi. Thus, diminished from beginning to end by this $231\frac{156}{480}$, the quadrennium of Sōthic Coincidence-epochs stated *supra*, *i.e.*,—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{B.C. } 4238 & \frac{77}{480} & \\ \text{,, } 4237 & \frac{175}{480} & \\ \text{,, } 4236 & \frac{163}{480} & \\ \text{,, } 4235 & \frac{156}{480} & \end{array}$$

becomes Ussherian, or Conventional, in the shape of the following quadrennium, at least one of whose years (the last) is familiar :—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{B.C. } 4007 & \frac{21}{480} & \\ \text{,, } 4006 & \frac{14}{480} & \\ \text{,, } 4005 & \frac{7}{480} & \\ \text{,, } 4004 & & \end{array}$$

Thus—rather to our surprise—we find that Ussherian Time (with which there appears to be nothing wrong except the old-fashioned habit of associating its B.C. 4004 with the now exploded idea of "Creation") bears a definite and ascertainable relation to Sōthic Time, and of course, through that, to Solar Time. It turns out, however, to be an arbitrary relation.

By way of illustration, take the first *Sed-Heb* in the reign of Rāmēsēs II. As we shall see presently, it was cyclical-year $2739\frac{180}{480}$, counting from 0 of the preceding Sōthic Cycle, *i.e.*, from the opening of the so-called Era of Menophres, which we shall find was in B.C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$. This $2739\frac{180}{480}$, subtracted from Ussherian B.C. 4004, is B.C. $1264\frac{300}{480}$. To that add $231\frac{156}{480}$, and we get $1495\frac{456}{480}$,

Solar. This, deducted from Sōthic Coincidence-epoch B.C. 4235 $\frac{156}{480}$ *supra*, should be 2739 $\frac{180}{480}$ —and it is.

Or, as a variation, that same *Sed-Heb*, on its own spheroid, is represented by sphero-cyclical year 1278 $\frac{180}{480}$. This, subtracted from Ussherian B.C. 2543 (one Sōthic Cycle below B.C. 4004), is B.C. 1264 $\frac{300}{480}$ aforesaid. To this add 231 $\frac{156}{480}$, and we get 1495 $\frac{456}{480}$. That, deducted from Sōthic Coincidence-epoch B.C. 2774 $\frac{156}{480}$, should also be 1278 $\frac{180}{480}$ —and it is.

Now take my Kahūn Sōthic-Rising date, B.C. 1867 $\frac{138}{480}$. This, subtracted from Ussherian B.C. 4004, is cyclical-year 2136 $\frac{342}{480}$. To 1867 $\frac{138}{480}$ add 231 $\frac{156}{480}$, and we get 2098 $\frac{394}{480}$. This, deducted from Sōthic Coincidence-epoch B.C. 4235 $\frac{156}{480}$, should also leave 2136 $\frac{342}{480}$ —and it does.

In this connection, therefore, we may state for ourselves the following rule. The sphero-cyclical year (*i.e.*, the cyclical-year minus 1461) subtracted from B.C. 4004, B.C. 2543, or B.C. 1082 (cyclical Coincidence-epochs of the Ussherian system), will give the Conventional B.C. year.

Example.—Cyclical-year 2526 $\frac{150}{480}$, minus 1461, is sphero-cyclical year 1065 $\frac{150}{480}$. Subtract this 1065 $\frac{150}{480}$ from B.C. 2543 (Ussherian Coincidence-epoch corresponding to Sōthic B.C. 2780 $\frac{198}{480}$), and the result is Conventional B.C. 1477 $\frac{330}{480}$, Thothmēs III's 3rd, and Hatshepsūt's 16th, regnal year. Note also that, subtracted from Sōthic Coincidence-epoch B.C. 2780 $\frac{198}{480}$, 1302 $\frac{348}{480}$, the sphero-cyclical year for the calendrical datum "21 Epiphi," in my List of regularly-recurring Sōthic-Risings from 0 in every cycle of 1461 years, also results in Conventional B.C. 1477 $\frac{330}{480}$.

We are now in a position to appreciate the following statement made by Dr. S. A. Cooke in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1923, Vol. I, at p. 168:—

"..... we know that the new Sothic cycle began in A.D. 139 (143). Theon, the mathematician of Alexandria, calls the preceding

cycle, which must have begun in 1321 B.C. (1317), 'the epoch of Menophres.' The 'throne name' of Rameses I, who succeeded Harmhab about 1321 B.C., was Menpehre." (Note what gramophones of each other these learned gentlemen are!). "His date is known because his predecessor dated the year of his reign from the death of Amenhotep III, the father of Ikhnaton (whose reign is ignored on account of his religious heresy), and 'reigned' at least 59 years, 1380-1321 B.C. Thus 1321 B.C. was the first year of a Sothic cycle, and the evidence fits in well. The two preceding cycles will have begun in 2778 or 2781 B.C. and 4233 or 4241 B.C., and in one of these the cycle was instituted."

This, then, is how "1321 B.C." is established—associated, be it noted, with a 1460-years' cycle, based on a spheroid of 365° ; and *this* is the kind of evidence which commends itself to the specialists, and which, they say, "fits in well"!

Elsewhere, in the same apparently "conflate" work, Professor Peet and Dr. Hall, as we have already seen, suggest that, of these two dates (B.C. 4241 and B.C. 2781), B.C. 4241 is the more probable. This, of course, was falling back on a view that had previously been expressed by the German *savant*, Eduard Meyer.

Dr. Cooke, Professor Peet, and Dr. Hall, I submit—to say nothing of Professor Eduard Meyer—are all quite wrong; and my reasons for so saying are these. My statements are necessarily in form positive—not because put forward in an aggressively dogmatic spirit, but from considerations connected with the value of space in this *Journal*.

Amen-hetep III's reign did *not* end in B.C. 1380. His regnal period was not at all what Egyptologists generally think it was. It was more than a generation later, *i.e.*, it was B.C. $1371\frac{75}{480}$ – $1340\frac{345}{480}$. The *Heb*-List for every cycle of 1461 spheroidal years goes to prove this.

As regards Her-em-heb's (Harmhab's) reign—counting from Amen-hetep III's demise—Dr. Cooke puts it at

59 years. Professor Breasted only allows 54 years, *i.e.*, 34 for Her-em-heb himself, and about 20 for Akh-en-aten, or Khū-en-aten (Ikhnaton) and his immediate successors. I submit, however, that here the 34 is excessive, and the 20 inadequate. Ākh-en-aten demands at least 16 years; Tūt-ānkh-amen about 11; and Āy from 5 to 13. That accounts for 32—if not 40—years of the interval. Smenkh-kā-rā possibly never reigned at all. I propose to allow 44 years in all—which means that Her-em-heb's own regnal period was really only 4 years, *i.e.*, if Āy's period was as much as 13, but of course more if Āy's period has to be reduced. How this adjustment works out will appear presently.

Again, Rāmēsēs I did *not* succeed Her-em-heb about 1321 B.C. Conflatists, of course, would very much like it to be so, in order that some sadly-needed semblance of reality may attach to their not very definite visions regarding the "Era of Menophres," and the epoch from which it started. We shall find that they are out of reckoning in that connection by a few years more than an entire Sōthic Cycle!

The clue or key to Rāmēsēs I's regnal period is the reign of Rāmēsēs II. This we are able to reconstruct by means of certain data of knowledge which we fortunately possess, supplemented by extremely useful help derived from my List of regularly-recurring *Hebs*, starting from 0 in each 1461-years' cycle, or practically (adding cycle to cycle) from the opening of the so-called Era of Menophres in B.C. 2786½, or sphero-cyclical year 1217½, regarded as a *zero-point*. These *Hebs* (some of them *Seds*, but others *Hendis*, or Quadruple *Seds*) succeed each other at intervals, per *Sed*, of exactly 30 "unity" years, or $30\frac{210}{480}$ years on the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ spheroid. Their testimony cannot err; *i.e.*, provided our other information is reliable—*e.g.*, the number of years that a king reigned—

or its inaccuracy (as in one case here) can be detected, what we get by way of result is indisputable, or rather irrefutable. We know that a Sōthic-Rising *Heb* was celebrated in Rāmēsēs II's 41st regnal year; that that was also a *Sed-Heb* year; and that a *Hendi-Heb* fell in Mer-en-Ptah's second regnal year. We are also told that Rāmēsēs II reigned 67 years. We therefore conclude, with some confidence, that this last piece of information is wrong, and that the reign really pans out thus:—

1st regnal year ... B.C. $1274\frac{270}{480}$

Note.—If Rāmēsēs II's first regnal year was the 400th year of the 'so-styled Era of Set-Aapehti-Nūbti, or Rā-Pehti-Nūbti, that obscure celebrity's first regnal year would have been, on a spheroidal basis, B.C. $1679\frac{83}{480}$. Can he have been the Peh-Nūb-Rā of the XVIIth dynasty, mentioned by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie in his *History of Egypt*, 10th ed., revised, Vol. I, pp. 262, 281?

11th regnal year ... B.C. $1264\frac{300}{480}$... *Sed-Heb* year, listed as Cyc.
year $2739\frac{0}{16}$, from 0 of
preceding cycle.

21st ,, ,, $1254\frac{233}{480}$... Peace-Treaty with Kheta-
sār, king of the Hittites.

41st ,, ,, $1234\frac{90}{480}$... *Sed-Heb* year, listed as Cyc.
year $2769\frac{3}{16}$, from 0 of
preceding cycle. Also
celebrated as a Sōthic-
Rising *Heb* year.

Note.—Hall actually gives B.C. 1234 as the approximate date of Rāmēsēs II's death! (*Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, p. 318). And Petrie conforms.

70th regnal year ... B.C. $1204\frac{367}{480}$... Death of Rāmēsēs II. and
accession of Mer-en-Ptah,
in whose second year,
B.C. $1203\frac{360}{480}$, a *Hendi-Heb*
fell due.

Thus, the 21-years' reign of Rāmēsēs II's immediate predecessor, Seti I, was B.C. $1295\frac{30}{480}$ (a *Sed-Heb*

year)-1274 $\frac{37}{480}$; so that Rāmēsēs I's period must have been B.C. 1296 $\frac{37}{480}$ -1295 $\frac{30}{480}$.

It may be thought by some that in all this, granted that our figuring is correct, we are possibly out of reckoning by just one *Sed*-period of 30 $\frac{21}{480}$ spheroidal years; in other words that perhaps it was Rāmēsēs II's 71st regnal year, not his 41st, that was really B.C. 1234 $\frac{90}{480}$. This, however, can be readily tested—quite apart from the fact that the idea of Rāmēsēs II having reigned 71 years would be entirely new. In Petrie's list of Sōthic-Feasts (*Hist. of Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 32), the calendrical date of the Feast in Rāmēsēs II's 41st regnal year is given as 22 Thoth. For reasons into which I need not enter here, this is possibly a mistake for 21 Thoth. At any rate, in my List, the sphero-cyclical year for 21 Thoth is 85 $\frac{108}{480}$. Subtract that from the Coincidence-epoch B.C. 1319 $\frac{198}{480}$, and we get B.C. 1234 $\frac{90}{480}$ exactly—the date for Rāmēsēs II's 41st year, not his 71st. The hypothetical objection, therefore, appears to be disposed of.

If, now, we allow Her-em-heb the 44 years above proposed—counting from B.C. 1340 $\frac{345}{480}$, *true* last regnal year of Amen-hetep III—we are brought down to Rāmēsēs I's just ascertained accession-year B.C. 1296 $\frac{37}{480}$, precisely.

Now go back to the Coincidence-quadrenniums which, somewhere about this age, marked the close of one Sōthic-Cycle and the commencement of its successor. First take the third group in our opening series of quadrenniums for F. 2 ΕΡΙΡΗΙ, the group:—

B.C.	1320 $\frac{205}{480}$
„	1319 $\frac{198}{480}$
„	1318 $\frac{191}{480}$
„	1317 $\frac{184}{480}$

Where, amongst these 4 years, do we find one that is at all in keeping with B.C. 1296 $\frac{37}{480}$ -1295 $\frac{30}{480}$, the *true*

regnal period of Rāmēsēs I—the “Men-pehti-rā” (as the name *really* appears on the cartouche for it), or *alleged* “Men-peh-re,” in whose butterfly-like day, we are seriously asked to believe, the Era of Menophres was instituted? Not one of the 4 is suitable. True, in the shape of B.C. $1320\frac{205}{480}$, we note something that rather reminds us of the mysterious year “1321 B.C.” with which Dr. Cooke and his friends attempt to make so much play. (Hall also hazards a reference to “B.C. 1322”). But, apart from the fact that this “1321 B.C.” or “1322 B.C.” of the specialists is certainly not the same thing as a date of the same figures on the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ spheroid, the only importance attaching to the former lies in the circumstance that the Conflatists fondly imagine that Rāmēsēs I (their phantasmal and fantastical “Men-peh-re”) succeeded Her-em-heb about then. We have just seen that he did *not*. A whole generation was to grow up before Rāmēsēs I came to the throne for a brief little flutter, and had any “throne-name” to assume with it.

Well, let us resort to the equivalent quadrennium in the natural series correlating with F. 1 EPIPHI:—

B.C.	$1324\frac{233}{480}$
„	$1323\frac{226}{480}$
„	$1322\frac{219}{480}$
„	$1321\frac{212}{480}$

These are still more unsuitable.

Even the similar quadrennium correlating with F. 3 EPIPHI (I pass over the priestly one based on B.C. $2780\frac{198}{480}$) is of no use to us here, *i.e.*, the quadrennium:—

B.C.	$1316\frac{177}{480}$
„	$1315\frac{170}{480}$
„	$1314\frac{163}{480}$
„	$1313\frac{156}{480}$

Finally, as regards the origin of the name MENOPHRES. It was assuredly never derived from either "Men-pehti-rā" or its artlessly manipulated and suggested variant "Men-peh-re"—especially as the shadowy individual who is supposed to have assumed this curiously arrived-at "throne-name" did not accede for 24 years after "1321 B.C.," and then only reigned obscurely for a breath.

How, then, did the name Menophres arise?

In this connection Professor Breasted has put forward a quaint theory. I refer to it because it introduces a word that I want to comment upon, and more on account of the respect inspired by the Professor's name than for any substance that his theory has in itself. He is dealing with the 6th dynasty in reliance on the the data that were available in 1905, and says:—

"The seat of government, the chief royal residence, as before in the vicinity of Memphis, was still called the 'White Wall,' but after the obscure reign of Teti II, the first king of the new dynasty, the pyramid-city of his successor, the powerful Pepi I, was so close to the 'White Wall' that the name of his pyramid 'Men-nefer,' corrupted by the Greeks to Memphis, rapidly became the name of the city, and 'White Wall' survived only as an archaic and poetic designation of the place" (*History of Egypt*, pp. 132, 133).

See also P. Le Page Renouf's *Archaic Egyptian Grammar*, p. 54, where, in the text, "Men-nefer" occurs as the name of a ship, and in a foot-note this is explained as equating with "Memphis."

Now, "M-n n-f-r" means "Beautiful, or Perfect, or Delightful Abode"; and doubtless also Memphis was a most desirable dwelling-place. The Nile-boat, too, probably had its own and associated charms. Something may possibly turn on this; but I question very much whether there is any morphological connection between the words "Men-nefer" and "Memphis", or whether of yore the former was ever corrupted into the latter—by

Greeks or anybody else. There certainly seems to have been a *liaison* of some sort between the pyramid and the city; but it appears to me that, for the *etymological* derivation of "Memphis" we shall have to look elsewhere—though perchance not far.

I strongly suspect, however—indeed, I submit—that the etymon of *Menophres* is to be found in this same "M-n n-f-r", and nowhere else.

Obviously, Breasted's derivation of "Memphis," and the other, the specialists' derivation of Menophres from so-called "Men-peh-re"—equally seriously advanced, and, apparently, equally seriously received by the reading-public—are mutually irreconcilable. As obviously, both are impossible of lasting acceptance. At the same time I have not yet seen any direct and definite repudiation of the American hypothesis. The result is that, though this still seems to be in a manner countenanced, we are nevertheless now asked solemnly to believe that the Era of Menophres (should we say "Era of Memphis"?) did not commence till about "1321 B.C."!

In this connection it is amusing to note how the specialists jump at the idea that Theon of Alexandria "calls the preceding cycle, which must have begun in 1321 B.C. (or 1317), 'the epoch of Menophres.'" For (assuming that "epoch" is not a slip of somebody's pen for "era"), are we certain that Theon *did* so call the preceding cycle? R. S. Poole was a cautious, if somewhat pernickety, writer. What *he* says is that the terms in which Theon *is reported* to have spoken of the commencement of the Sōthic Cycle justify us in saying that it (*i.e.*, quite possibly the recurring Cycle as an Era) was called the Era of Menophres. But, in jumping at Theon's supposed remarks, the specialists seem to have jumped either too far, or not far enough. In short, they

appear to have misunderstood Theon—naturally in the way that suited their own preconceptions.

Discoursing, as he is reported to have been discoursing, Theon was obviously contemplating *an era*, not limiting his conception to one isolated stretch of say 1461 spheroidal years—*e.g.*, the stretch from B.C. 1318 to A.D. 143, or that from B.C. 1321 to A.D. 140, or “139” as stated. Note, however, that “139” only emerges, from B.C. 1321, when calculations are based on a cycle of 1460 years, associated with a 365° spheroid. That, however, is *not modern reckoning*. Besides (if really existing, on the 1460-years’ cycle, in A.D. $138\frac{54}{72}$), “A.D. 139” only goes quadrennially, on the same cycle, with B.C. $4242\frac{9}{2}$ (or $4239\frac{16}{72}$), B.C. $2782\frac{19}{2}$ (or $2779\frac{16}{72}$), and B.C. $1322\frac{19}{2}$ (or $1319\frac{16}{72}$)—not with those vague and elusive groups on which Specialism seems to be more or less relying under the cited forms “4241 B.C. (or 4238),” “2781 B.C. (or 2778),” and “1321 B.C. (or 1318).” “1317” links up with “A.D. 143.” If, therefore, in connection with the Sōthic Cycles, or Era, Theon spoke of the “Era of Menophres,” he doubtless, or quite possibly, meant that, after the Sōthic *Era* had commenced with its first cycle of 1461 spheroidal years, the entire succession of subsequent similar cycles (including, of course, the one that began somewhere about “1321 B.C.”) were all *within an era* which he called the Era of Menophres. Thus, had he been speaking of “1318 B.C.” specifically, or even of “1321 B.C.” specifically, as epochs, it does not follow that, in his conception, either of those years represented the *beginning of the Era of Menophres*. All that follows is that he considered that one or other of these epochs was *in the* succession of Sōthic cycles which was known as the Era of Menophres.

What, then, really *was* the epochal year from which the Era of Menophres began?

I submit that it was sphero-cyclical year $1217\frac{1}{2}$, or B.C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$. I also submit that that (regarded as a *zero-point*) was the epoch from which the Sōthic Cycles first started, and from which the Sōthic Calendar began. But *instituted by whom?* By Pepi I of the 6th Romic dynasty.

It would appear that, in those remote days, when a Pharaoh acceded, the year of his accession was not accounted his first regnal year. His first regnal year was his first *full* year of sovereignty. Now, from Petrie and others, we learn that there was an "OCCURRENCE" in Pepi I's 18th year. What "Occurrence" was that? And what was Pepi I's 18th year? When we know that, we shall be able to determine his first year.

Tentatively, let us assume that the "Occurrence" was the beginning of the actual (though as yet invisible) hēliacal rising of Sirius—the epochal spheroidal point correlating with the calendar-date F. 30 PAḌNI; or rather, the date, or spheroidal *zero-point* *from* which the rising was to be regarded as actually starting. On that basis Pepi I's *accession-year*—the year in which his predecessor died—was B.C. $2804\frac{366}{480}$. His first *regnal* year, however—*i.e.*, the first full year of his sovereignty—would have been B.C. $2803\frac{359}{480}$. It follows that his 18th year fell in no less momentous a year than B.C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$ —*last year of the quadrennium for F. 30 Paḍni*. The "Occurrence," then, mentioned in the inscriptions of the Hammamat Reliefs, and there associated with the 18th year of Pepi I (see Breasted's *Ancient Records*, pp. 136, 137, §§ 296-298), was assumedly the actual epochal or cyclical hēliacal-rising of Sirius, or Sōthis, as it began from sphero-cyclical year $1217\frac{1}{2}$, or B.C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$. It all fits in to a hair.

Does anything else similarly fit in? Yes, we are also told that "the First Occurrence of the *Sed-Heb*" fell in the year of "the 25th Numbering." This has sadly puzzled

Professor Breasted, who apparently thinks that *two* "First Occurrences of the *Sed-Heb*" are spoken of in the Reliefs. But in fact this is not so. It is all quite clear—if only Egyptologists, setting aside their own age-long preconceptions, will get the fact and nature of these spheroidally-based and regularly-recurring *Sed*-periods into their heads.

The "Occurrence" of B.C. 2786½, first alluded to in the Hammamat inscriptions, was really a *Hendi-Heb* event; but, even as such, it was also a kind of *Sed*, i.e., a Quadruple *Sed*. Then, by "First ... *Sed-Heb*," next mentioned, was meant, of course, the first *Sed-Heb* proper of the newly instituted (Sōthic) Era. It was, in fact, the first after the great "Occurrence," or *Hendi-Heb*, in the initially *zero* year B.C. 2786½. These "Numberings" were for fiscal purposes—a kind of State stock-taking—and they were carried out every two years. Naturally, a new king wanted to know what his resources were. Accordingly, his first "Numbering" took place immediately upon his accession. It did not wait till his first full regnal year. Hence, Pepi I's first "Numbering" was in B.C. 2804 $\frac{266}{480}$. On that basis his year of "the 25th Numbering" must have fallen in B.C. 2758 $\frac{30}{480}$. Now, that happens to be the precise date of the first *Sed-Heb* after the *Hendi* in B.C. 2786½, according to my List of *Hebs*. This also, therefore, fits in to a hair—with the mathematical nicety of the joinings of some of the pyramid-stones.

Taken together, these two dove-tailings are distinctly impressive; for, though the first was only a tentative assumption, or working-hypothesis, by way of giving investigation a start, the second confirms it, and is in turn supported by the other. In short, from their combined effect—enhancing the force and clinching the results of all our other considerations—it seems to me

that B.C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$ may now reasonably be regarded as the established *zero-point*, not only for the Opening of the so-called Era of Menophres, for the Commencement of all Sōthic Cycles, and for the Institution of the Sōthic Calendar, but also for all *Sed* and *Hendi-Hebs*—Sōthic, so far as they were yet to come, but non-Sōthic, or pre-Sōthic (shall we say Dracōnian ?), so far as they had already fallen due.

That the *zero-point* from which the Era of Menophres originally started was indeed sphero-cyclical year $1217\frac{1}{2}$, or what we now call B.C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$, is otherwise clear. Take once more cyclical year $2739\frac{180}{480}$, or B.C. $1264\frac{300}{480}$, the date of the first *Sed-Heb* in the reign of Rāmēsēs II. $1217\frac{1}{2} + 1461 = 2678\frac{1}{2}$; and $60\frac{120}{480}$ more make up the $2739\frac{180}{480}$. Now work similarly from B.C. $2786\frac{1}{2}$. 1461 deducted from it, is $1325\frac{1}{2}$. Deduct another $60\frac{120}{480}$, and we get B.C. $1264\frac{300}{480}$, which is identical with cyclical year $2739\frac{180}{480}$.

In conclusion, I submit that it was PEPI I who instituted this famous Era and this famous Calendar, and that the Era got its name of MENOPHRES from the pyramid that king is said to have built near Memphis, known as "M-n n-f-r" (*Men-nefer*), "The Beautiful, or Perfect, or Delightful Abode."

The Era of Menophres and the Sothic Calendar.

IV.

By

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

With these materials we can now confidently proceed to reconstruct some of the more ancient Romic dynasties. These reconstructions are based in part on Dr. Hall's figures for regnal periods, but otherwise on the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ spheroid, *i.e.*, assuming $1\frac{7}{480}$ for every ordinary or "unity" year; on the *Heb*-List from 0 of every cycle of 1461 years; on B.C. $2786\frac{240}{480}$ as the *zero*-date of the Commencement of the Era of Menophres and of the Sōthic Calendar; and on B.C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$ as the date of the *Kahūn* Sōthic-Rising in the 7th regnal year of Senwosri III of the 12th dynasty. All *Hebs* (reported and unreported) are given as they must have fallen due.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY.

Sha-yeri-rū (Shaarū)	2 years ...	B.C. $3140\frac{113}{480}$ - $3139\frac{106}{480}$. (<i>Sed-Heb</i> in B.C. $3121\frac{150}{480}$).
Khū-fū	23 years ...	B.C. $3139\frac{106}{480}$ - $3116\frac{482}{480}$.
Ded-f-rā	8 " "	$3116\frac{482}{480}$ - $3109\frac{383}{480}$.
Khaf-rā	56 " "	$3109\frac{383}{480}$ - $3053\frac{478}{480}$. (2 <i>Sed-Hebs</i> in B.C. $3090\frac{420}{480}$, and B.C. $3060\frac{210}{480}$).
Men-kau-rā	26 years ...	B.C. $3053\frac{478}{480}$ - $3028\frac{303}{480}$. (<i>Hendi-Heb</i> in B.C. 3030).
Sheps-s-ka-f	7 years ...	B.C. $3028\frac{303}{480}$ - $3022\frac{261}{480}$.
Sebek-ka-rā	22 " "	$3022\frac{261}{480}$ - $3001\frac{114}{480}$.
Yei-em-hetep (Imhotep)	6 " "	$3001\frac{114}{480}$ - $2966\frac{79}{480}$. (2 <i>Sed-Hebs</i> in B.C. $2999\frac{70}{480}$, and B.C. $2669\frac{60}{480}$).

THE FIFTH DYNASTY.

Ūser-ka-f	7 years ...	B.C. $2966\frac{79}{480}$ - $2960\frac{37}{480}$.
Sahū-rā	12 „	„ $2960\frac{37}{480}$ - $2948\frac{440}{480}$.
Nefer-yeri-ka-rā	10 „	„ $2948\frac{440}{480}$ - $2939\frac{377}{480}$.
Nefer-f-rā	7 „	„ $2939\frac{377}{480}$ - $2933\frac{335}{480}$.
		(<i>Sed-Heb</i> in B.C. $2938\frac{330}{480}$).
Sheps-s-ka-rā	4 years ...	B.C. $2933\frac{335}{480}$ - $2930\frac{314}{480}$.
En-ūser-rā	34 „	„ $2930\frac{314}{480}$ - $2897\frac{83}{480}$.
		(<i>Hendi-Heb</i> in B.C. $2908\frac{120}{480}$).
Men-kau-her	8 years ...	B.C. $2897\frac{83}{480}$ - $2889\frac{474}{480}$.
Ded-ka-rā	28 „	„ $2889\frac{474}{480}$ - $2862\frac{285}{480}$.
		(<i>Sed-Heb</i> in B.C. $2877\frac{390}{480}$).
Ūn-yes (Unas)	30 years ...	B.C. $2862\frac{285}{480}$ - $2833\frac{82}{480}$.
		(<i>Sed-Heb</i> in B.C. $2847\frac{180}{480}$).

EARLY PART OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY.

Teta	24 years ...	Acceded B.C. $2833\frac{82}{480}$; died B.C. $2809\frac{401}{480}$.
		(<i>Sed-Heb</i> in B.C. $2816\frac{450}{480}$).
Aty	6 years ...	B.C. $2809\frac{401}{480}$ - $2804\frac{366}{480}$.
PEPI I	50 „	Acceded B.C. $2804\frac{366}{480}$. First regnal year, B.C. $2803\frac{359}{480}$. <i>Hendi-Heb</i> in his 18th regnal year, B.C. $2786\frac{240}{480}$, to celebrate commencement of actual heliacal rising of Sirius. <i>N.B.</i> —B.C. $2786\frac{240}{480}$ = Cyclical Year 1217½, and was the <i>zero-point</i> from which both the SOTHIC CALENDAR and the ERA OF MENOPHRES commenced. First <i>Sed-Heb</i> of that Calendar and Era was in B.C. $2756\frac{300}{480}$, the year of Pepi I's "25th Numbering", beginning with his accession-year, B.C. $2804\frac{366}{480}$. Died B.C. $2755\frac{23}{480}$.
Mer-en-rā	5 years ...	B.C. $2755\frac{23}{480}$ - $2750\frac{475}{480}$.
Pepi II	94 „	„ $2750\frac{475}{480}$ - $2656\frac{304}{480}$.
		(<i>Sed-Hebs</i> in B.C. $2725\frac{200}{480}$, and B.C. $2695\frac{90}{480}$; and <i>Hendi-Heb</i> in B.C. $2664\frac{360}{480}$).

Dr. Hall gives Mer-en-rā only 4 years, but Mer-en-rā seems to have survived to his 5th regnal year. Pepi

II possibly reigned longer than 94 years; but on his death, whenever it occurred, disorders arose, the affairs of the kingdom fell into chaos, even the close of the dynasty is uncertain, and all we can do, from this point on, till the rise of the 11th dynasty (Theban), is to set forth the *Sed*- and *Hendi-Hebs* as they successively fell due at intervals of $30\frac{10}{480}$ years. Thus:—

B.C.	$2634\frac{150}{480}$	A <i>Sed</i> .	} Period of Confusion, followed by the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th dynasties in succession.
"	$2603\frac{420}{480}$	"	
"	$2573\frac{210}{480}$	"	
"	2543	A <i>Hendi</i> .	
"	$2512\frac{270}{480}$	A <i>Sed</i> .	
"	$2482\frac{60}{480}$	"	
"	$2451\frac{330}{480}$	"	
"	$2421\frac{120}{480}$	A <i>Hendi</i> .	
"	$2390\frac{390}{480}$	A <i>Sed</i> .	
"	$2360\frac{180}{480}$	"	
"	$2329\frac{450}{480}$	"	
"	$2299\frac{240}{480}$	A <i>Hendi</i> .	
"	$2269\frac{30}{480}$	A <i>Sed</i> .	
"	$2238\frac{300}{480}$	"	
"	$2208\frac{90}{480}$	"	
"	$2177\frac{360}{480}$	A <i>Hendi</i> .	
"	$2147\frac{150}{480}$	A <i>Sed</i> .	

THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY (THEBAN).

(Based on the 12th Dynasty, as reconstructed below)

Antef I	19 years ...	B.C. $2139\frac{94}{480}$ - $2120\frac{448}{480}$.
Antef II	51 years ...	B.C. $2120\frac{448}{480}$ - $2070\frac{98}{480}$.
	(Unreported <i>Sed-Hebs</i> must have fallen in B.C. $2116\frac{420}{480}$, his 5th regnal year, and B.C. $2086\frac{210}{480}$, his 35th regnal year).	
" III	6 years ...	B.C. $2070\frac{98}{480}$ - $2065\frac{63}{480}$.
Menthū-hotep I	16 "	" $2065\frac{63}{480}$ - $2049\frac{438}{480}$.
	(An unreported <i>Sed-Heb</i> , which was also a <i>Hendi-Heb</i> , or Quadruple <i>Sed</i> , must have fallen in B.C. 2056, his 10th regnal year).	

Menthū-hetep II	6 years ... B.C. 2049 $\frac{138}{480}$ -2044 $\frac{403}{480}$.
„ III	the celebrated NEB-HEPŪ (Kherū)-RĀ. 49 years ... B.C. 2044 $\frac{403}{480}$ -1996 $\frac{67}{480}$. (<i>Sed-Heb</i> in B.C. 2025 $\frac{270}{480}$, his 20th regnal year. A <i>Sed</i> statue has in fact been found. Probably it relates to this <i>Heb</i> . In B.C. 2015 $\frac{200}{480}$ (his 30th regnal year) Neb-hepū-rā assumed the style and title “Uniter of The Two Lands”. From this epoch of Amen-em-hāt I’s 16th regnal year (B.C. 1972 $\frac{286}{480}$) was, according to Petrie, 43 of our years; or 27 of our years to the foundation of the XIIth Dynasty, which was in B.C. 1988 $\frac{11}{480}$).
„ IV	5 years ... B.C. 1996 $\frac{67}{480}$ -1991 $\frac{32}{480}$. (A <i>Sed-Heb</i> reported. Must have been the <i>Sed</i> falling in B.C. 1995 $\frac{60}{480}$, his second regnal year).
„ V	10 years ... B.C. 1991 $\frac{32}{480}$ -1981 $\frac{449}{480}$. (Petrie speaks of a <i>Sed-Heb</i> “seated figure” as having been found. Possibly it represented Mentūhetep IV. It could not have belonged to this reign, as no <i>Sed-Heb</i> was due in it. The next was not to fall till B.C. 1964 $\frac{330}{480}$, 5th regnal year of Senwosri I of the XIIth Dynasty).

Thus it appears that Amen-em-hāt I must have founded the XIIth Dynasty some 7 of our years before the XIth Dynasty had come to an end.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY (THEBAN).

(Based on Petrie’s figures for regnal periods; on the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ spheroid, i.e., assuming $1\frac{7}{480}$ for every “unity” year; and on B.C. 1867 $\frac{138}{480}$ as the date of the *Kahun* Sōthic-Rising in the 7th regnal year of Senwosri III. With this dynasty opened the *régime* of AMEN-RĀ, or YEMEN-RĀ, as supreme Sun-god in Khem).

Amen-em-hāt I (alone) 20 years ... B.C. 1988 $\frac{11}{480}$ -1968 $\frac{358}{480}$.

Senwosri I (or Ūsert-Sen I, or Sen-Ūsert I)

45 years ... B.C. $1968\frac{358}{480}$ - $1924\frac{50}{480}$.

(During his first 10 regnal years he was Co-Regent with his father, who thus really reigned 30 years. In his 3rd regnal year, B.C. $1966\frac{344}{480}$, Senwosri I decided to build a temple at On to the Sun-god.

Its foundations were completed at "the beginning of a *Sed*-period." A *Sed-Heb* did fall in B.C. $1964\frac{330}{480}$. In the interval these foundations settled. A *Hendi-Heb* must have fallen in B.C. $1934\frac{30}{480}$).

Amen-em-hāt II (alone) 33 years ... B.C. $1924\frac{50}{480}$ - $1891\frac{306}{480}$.

(An unreported *Sed-Heb* must have fallen in B.C. $1903\frac{390}{480}$).

Senwosri II

19 years ... B.C. $1891\frac{306}{480}$ - $1873\frac{180}{480}$.

Senwosri III

38 " " 1873 $\frac{180}{480}$ - $1835\frac{401}{480}$.

(An unreported *Sed-Heb* must have fallen in B.C. $1873\frac{180}{480}$, the year of his accession and of the demise of his predecessor. The *Kahūn* Sōthic-Rising occurred in B.C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$, his 7th regnal year=the 120th ordinary or "unity" year on the 360° spheroid, of the dynasty. Another unreported *Sed-Heb* must have fallen in B.C. $1842\frac{450}{480}$).

Amen-em-hāt III

48 years ... B.C. $1835\frac{401}{480}$ - $1788\frac{72}{480}$.

(An unreported *Hendi-Heb* must have fallen in B.C. $1812\frac{240}{480}$).

" IV

9 years ... B.C. $1788\frac{72}{480}$ - $1780\frac{16}{480}$.

(An unreported *Sed-Heb* must have fallen in B.C. $1782\frac{30}{480}$).

Sebek-neferu-rā

4 years ... B.C. $1780\frac{16}{480}$ - $1776\frac{475}{480}$.*Explanation.*—B.C. $1988\frac{11}{480}$ =the first spheroidal year of the dynasty." $1867\frac{138}{480}$ =the 121 $\frac{360}{480}$ th " " "

 120 $\frac{53}{480}$

These $120\frac{353}{480}$ spheroidal years = 119 ordinary years as based on the original old 360° "unity" spheroid. Therefore B.C. $1867\frac{138}{480}$ (one spheroidal year more) is the 120th ordinary year of the dynasty.

Again, it is true that, if added up, some of the above regnal years, *i.e.*, as far as Senwosri III's 7th, total 124. Thus—

Amen-em-hât I	20
Senwosri I	45
Amen-em-hât II	33
Senwosri II	19
Senwosri III	7
	<hr/>
	124

This seems to be 4 years too many. But in those days, when a king died, the year of his death was also considered the first year of his successor; so that the first years of Senwosri III, Senwosri II, Amen-em-hât II, and Senwosri I have really been counted in twice. Hence, 4 years have to be deducted from 124: and this leaves Senwosri III's 7th year really as the 120th—not the 124th.

What other reconstruction of the 12th dynasty recognizes all the above conditions?

Farther back than the Fourth Dynasty I do not at present venture. Our knowledge of the preceding dynasties is too scrappy and kaleidoscopically uncertain to permit of any attempted reconstruction of them on similar detailed lines.

According, however, to Hall (*Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, pp. 27, 115), the period covered by the first three dynasties probably did not much exceed four centuries; and even this estimate, he says, is mere guess-work, arrived at by dead-reckoning. Professor Breasted allows about 500 years for the period—thus assigning the beginning of the dynasties to c. B.C. 3400, and the introduction of the calendar to c. B.C. 4241.

Moreover, Menes—the name of a celebrity who used to be regarded as the first known king of Qemt, or Khem—is now believed to have been merely a sort of style or title borne by at least 3 royal individuals; so that if, as was once supposed, the old “Menes” reigned 62 years, or thereabouts, we must now assume that the 3 kings into which his “conflate personality” has been disintegrated each reigned about 20 years only, or at least some such reduced period as shall consist with their joint reigns amounting to not more than about 62 years.

Our earliest date, as above arrived at—that of Sha-*yeri-rū*, first king of the 4th Dynasty (called by Hall *Sharu*, and by Petrie *Shaaru*)—is B.C. $3140\frac{113}{480}$. If, therefore, to that we add say 150 years, we get B.C. $3590\frac{113}{480}$ as the approximate beginning of the dynasties—the date say of the accession of the first “Menes.”

Even then civilization in Khem must have been old—the result of perhaps centuries of preceding evolution. Certainly the *Romiū* were *not* then in the “Neolithic stage” of culture, as Dr. Hall suggests.

Lastly, even if we accept the proposition that the *Sōthic* Calendar (the calendar connected with *Sirius*) was instituted by *Pepi I* in B.C. $2786\frac{240}{480}$, regarded as a *zero-point*, and that the commencement of the so-called Era of *Menophres*, may be assigned to the same epoch, it by no means follows that the regular official recording of Time began then. There may have been, and probably there was, a calendar of some sort—perhaps even one based on the 365° spheroid—before B.C. $2786\frac{240}{480}$. That calendar, however, was *not connected with Sirius*; hence, it could never have been a *Sōthic* Calendar. Possibly it was connected with *Gamma Dracōnis*. In that case we may reasonably call it the *Dracōnian* Calendar. This may have been the calendar which, according to Professor *Breasted*, was introduced in or about B.C. 4241.

An Enquiry about the Hindu Law of Evidence

BY

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SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Gautama Dharmasūtra, Manusmṛiti, Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, Vaśishṭha Dharmasūtra, Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra, Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and its translation, Vishṇusmṛiti, Nāradasmṛiti, Sukranīti; Viramitrodaya, Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana, Smṛitichandrikā, Parāśara Dharmasamhitā, Mitāksharā, Aparārkbhāshya, Vyavahārabālabhatti, Commentaries on Manu by Kulluka, Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Rāghava and others, Maskaribhāshya on Gautama, Haradatta's Mitāksharā on Gautama Dharmasūtra, Asahāya's Commentary on Nāradasmṛiti, Commentary of Govindasvāmī on Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra, Bühler's translation of Manu (S. B. E.), Julius Jolly's translation of Nārada and Bṛhaspati (S. B. E.), translations of Āpastamba Vaśishṭha and Vishṇu (S. B. E.), Law of Evidence—Woodroffe and Ameer Ali, and Vedic Index—Macdonell and Keith.

INTRODUCTORY.

The instances of application of the laws of evidence cannot be definitely traced in the ancient Vedic literature. It is true that the term *Jñātri* interpreted by Zimmer as "witness" occurs in two passages of the Atharvaveda and one of the Sāṃkhāyana Āraṇyaka. Geldner suggests that the practice of ordeal, the divine mode of proof, is

referred to in the Rigveda which according to other Sanskrit scholars seems to be improbable. The fire ordeal seen in the Atharvaveda by some scholars has been disapproved by others. Such an ordeal appears however in the Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa and ordeal with glowing axe occurs in the Chhāndogya Upanishad. According to Weber the balance ordeal is referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.¹

Coming to the Sūtra period which may be said to have commenced in the 7th or 8th century B. C. and extended up to the 4th century B. C., we come across clear references to trials and depositions. The procedure of ecclesiastical trials as recorded in the Buddhist Vinaya-piṭaka certainly has indirect bearing upon the development of the law of evidence.

In Gautama's Manual which is regarded, not without reason, as the oldest of the Dharmasūtras now extant, we have one whole chapter (Chap. XIII) devoted to the procedure relating to the calling in and competency of witnesses, depositions, ordeals, punishment of perjured witnesses and sanction of conditional perjury. We translate below the whole chapter to enable the reader to form his own judgment about it which is of great historical importance also as we find that similar procedure is adhered to in later codes such as the Manu Samhitā, treatises of Viṣṇu, Brihaspati and Nārada:—

“In disputes truth is to be ascertained from witnesses.² Witnesses should be many, above reproach so far as their own actions are concerned and such whom the king may trust. They are to be free from partiality to and malice against either of the parties. Śūdras even endowed with such qualifications may act as witnesses.

¹ See the references collected in the Vedic Index.

² The translation is based on the Maskari-Bhāṣya.

A Brāhmaṇa not formally adduced to give evidence should not be accepted as a witness by the king through the request of a non-Brāhmaṇa. Witnesses though assembled (in court) should not say anything until they are questioned (by the king).¹ If they fail to speak (the truth), they will incur sin. Truth-speaking leads to heaven and the contrary to hell. Even non-appointed witnesses may speak (where ends of justice cannot be met otherwise). There is no hard and fast rule in cases of violence and regarding a complaint lodged by one deceived.² In the event of moral laws being violated and the country suffering (through the failure of justice), demerit is acquired equally by the witnesses, the members of the tribunal, the king and the doer of the mischief. When qualified witnesses are wanting, truth is to be ascertained by means of *Śapatha* or ordeal.³ This *Śapatha* in the case of a non-Brāhmaṇa shall take place before an imaged deity or in the assembly of the king and the Brāhmaṇas. A witness who gives false evidence in regard to a small animal kills his ten generations (*i.e.*, sends them to hell). The consequence of telling a lie in respect of a cow, horse, man or piece of land is ten times more in each successive case. Or, by giving false testimony regarding a piece of land, a witness kills all human beings (*i.e.*, commits the same sin as is committed by killing all men). Seizing or forcibly taking possession of a piece of land leads to hellish abode. False testimony in respect of waters and adultery produces the same consequence. Falsehood spoken (in the course of a trial) on account of honey and butter gives rise to the same sin as that for small animals. By giving false evidence for a

¹ According to Haradatta this Sūtra (XIII. 5) means :—

Witnesses should not give evidence unasked and without being assembled.

² The meaning of this Sūtra (XIII. 10) is not clear.

³ Haradatta takes the word *Śapatha* to mean oath or solemn affirmation.

piece of cloth, gold, paddy and the Vedas¹ one incurs the same sin as for a cow. False evidence for a conveyance is as sinful as that for a horse. When it is found that a witness has given false evidence, he should be censured and punished by the king. But whenever the life of a (good) man would be lost by true evidence, a witness is free from blame if he gives false evidence. Such a lie, however, should not be told for the sake of saving the life of wicked man. The king himself or a learned Brāhmaṇa should act as the judge. The complainant should approach the judge seated on an elevated seat.² When the defendant keeps himself absent or the witnesses of the complainant do not make their appearance, the judge should wait for a year.³ But he is not to do so (*lit.* he is to commence the trial very soon), in disputes concerning a cow, bull or marriage. He should decide at once those cases also which are very urgent.⁴ Speaking the truth before the judge constitutes the highest virtue.”

MODES OF PROOF.

It is particularly in the older portions of the legal manual of Viṣṇu⁵ that we find that truth respecting a question of fact is to be ascertained in matters of litigation by three means, *viz.*, documents, witnesses and ordeals. Yājñavalkya has in addition another mode of proof, *viz.*, *bhukti* or ascertainment of actual possession.⁶

¹ If one attributes non-learning of the Vedas to one who has learned them.—*Maskari*.

² The real import of this Sūtra (XIII. 27) is that the judge should not take the initiative in beginning a lawsuit.

³ *I.e.*, the trial is to go on after one year.

⁴ *I.e.*, matters, a delayed adjudication of which may result in loss or damage.

⁵ तस्य च भावना सिद्धी भवन्ति—लिखितं साक्षिणः समवक्रिय च । VI. 23.

⁶ प्रमाणं लिखितं मुक्तिः साक्षिणश्चेति क्रीरितम् । एषामन्यतमाभावाद् दिव्यान्यतममुच्यते ॥ Yāj. II. 22.

Vaśishṭha does not mention 'ordeal' and recognises only three kinds of proof.¹ Bṛihaspati and Nārada² declare 'proof' primarily to be twofold, human and divine. By divine proof is meant the ordeal by balance and the other modes of divine test and human proof consists of witnesses, documents and inference (*anumāna*) according to Bṛihaspati and of witnesses and documents according to Nārada. Nārada in a later verse recognises, however, the proof of possession (*bhukti*) and its importance.³ Bṛihaspati's *anumāna* is implied in the *bhukti* of Yājñavalkya as interpreted by Raghunandana as well as by Parāśara Dharmaśāstra.⁴ But the accuracy of this interpretation seems doubtful from another verse of Bṛihaspati⁵ in which the relative importance of *anumāna*, *bhukti*, witnesses and documents is clearly set forth. It is stated here that oral evidence of witnesses is of superior cogency than *anumāna*, a written document is to be considered a better means of ascertaining the truth than oral evidence of witnesses and undisturbed possession for three successive generations is of greater legal force than *anumāna* and the evidences furnished by both documents and witnesses. Some light, however, can be had from Āpastamba and Kātyāyana as regards the correct meaning of the term *anumāna*. According to Āpastamba, *linga* or inference drawn from circumstances is an independent

¹ लिखितं साक्षिणो मुक्तिः प्रमाणं विविधं स्मृतम् । Vas. XVI.

² क्रियपि द्विविधा प्रोक्ता मानुषी देविकी तथा । मानुषी लिख्यसाक्षिभ्यां घटादिदेविकी च्युता । विप्रकारा क्रिया प्रोक्ता मानुषी देविकी तथा । साक्षी लिख्यानुमानश्च मानुषी विविधा स्मृता ॥ Nārada II. 28, Bṛihaspati, Viram., p. 110 (Calcutta edition).

³ लिखितं साक्षिणो मुक्तिः प्रमाणं विविधं च्युतम् । धनस्वीकरणे येन धनो धनमवाप्नुयात् । Nārada, IV. 69.

⁴ अचानुमानं मुक्तादि—Raghunandana, p. 26.

अनुमानं नाम मुक्तिः, याज्ञवल्क्येनानुमानस्थाने मुक्तिशब्दप्रयोगात्—Parāśara Dharmaśāstra, p. 88.

⁵ अनुमानाद् वरः साक्षी साक्षिभ्यो लिखितं गुरु । अव्याहता विपुलस्य मुक्तिश्चेभ्योगरीयसी—Raghunandana, p. 49.

means of proof.¹ Kātyāyana while saying that the modes of proof are principally three, *viz.*, witness, document and possession, incidentally mentions *yukti*² along with them. *Yukti* means, according to him,³ enumeration, specification or rather consideration of several aspects of a question such as the circumstances created by time, place, etc. Devanabhatta in his *Smṛiti-Chandrikā* explains *anumāna* by 'inference drawn from the circumstances of a case, these circumstances being indications of an act done, such as carrying a fire-brand, etc.'⁴ If we connect the explanation of *yukti* as given by Kātyāyana with that of *anumāna* as given by Devanabhatta, it would appear that *yukti* and *anumāna* are closely related with each other, the former, meaning 'a consideration of the circumstances' and the latter 'an inference drawn from them.' In other words, the rule is that a fact can be established either by direct and positive evidence or by 'cogent and irresistible grounds of presumption.' To be more accurate, recognition of *anumāna* as one of the modes of proof shows that if the circumstances are such as to make it morally certain (by means of *yukti*) that such and such facts exist or have occurred, a case may be decided solely on the strength of those circumstantial evidences. Thus we see that Nārada mentions six different kinds of proceedings in which witnesses may be dispensed with and mere inference from the circumstances is sufficient to prove the guilt of the persons accused. He says—⁵

¹ सन्देहे लिङ्गतो देवेनेति विचिन्त्य । II. 11. 29. 6.

² साक्षिणो लिखितं मुक्तिः प्रमाणं चिद्विधं विदुः । लिङ्गोद्देशस्तु युक्तिः स्वात्.....Parāśara,
p. 91.

³ वेदनाप्रतिष्ठानेषु युक्तिलेशैः समन्वितात् । देशकालार्थसम्बन्धपरिणामक्रियादिभिः । —Parāśara,
p. 91.

⁴ अनुमानमुक्ताहस्तादि ज्ञानम् । *Smṛiti Chandrika*, Part I, p. 23.

⁵ असाक्षि प्रत्यया स्वल्पे षड्विवादाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।

तच्चणान्येव साक्षिले येषामाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

‘It should be known that one carrying a fire-brand in his hand is an incendiary ; that one taken with a weapon in his hand is a murderer ; and that where a man and the wife of another man seize one another by the hair, the man must be an adulterer. One who goes about with a hatchet in his hand and makes his approach may be recognised as a destroyer of bridges ; one carrying an axe is declared a destroyer of trees and one whose looks are suspicious is likely to have committed an assault.’

DIVINE PROOF.

As to the divine mode of proof, ordeals by fire and water are mentioned by Manu in a cursory manner. Apastamba Dharmasūtrā recommends the employment of a divine proof in a general way without adding any particulars.¹ Gautama, Vaśishṭha and Bodhāyana, are silent regarding ordeals. Elaborate rules about them are laid down in Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu and Nārada and these authorities more or less agree with one another. Yājñavalkya prescribes ordeals in all those cases of serious crimes where the complainant having lost his case owing to the insufficiency of evidence insists on their employment on the express condition of his receiving punishment himself in case the accused proves his innocence.² Viṣṇu recommends the application of ordeals in cases of ‘a

उल्काहस्तीऽग्निदीप्तेयः शस्त्रपाणिस्तुघातकः ।

केशकेशीगृहीतश्च युगपत् पारदारिकः ॥

कुट्टालपाणिर्विज्ञेयः सेतुभक्ता समीपगः ।

तथा कुटारपाणिश्च वनञ्चैता प्रकीर्तितः ॥ Nārada, IV. 172-174.

¹ सन्देहे लिङ्गतो दैवेनेति विचिन्त्य । II. 11. 29, 6.

² महाभियोगेष्वेतानि शीर्षकस्थेऽभियोगिकरि । Yaj., II. 97.

शीर्षकं शिरः...तेन च दण्डोत्पद्यते । तत्र तिष्ठतीति शीर्षकस्थः, तत्रयुक्त दण्डभागित्यर्थः
Mit. on Yaj., II. 95.

यद्यनेन इदं न कृतं स्यात्तदा सत्यं दण्डोदय इति वादी शीर्षकस्थः (पराजयहेतुदण्डभाक्)
तादृशे तस्मिन् सति इत्यर्थः ।—Vyavahārābāmbhatti on Mitāksharā.

criminal action directed against the King, of violence, of denial of a deposit or of theft and robbery.¹ Nārada further distinguishes between cases in which ordeals should be employed and which could be settled by other modes of proof. According to him² ordeals are necessary only in absence of oral and documentary evidences. They are never to be resorted to when it is possible to decide a case with the help of witnesses and documents. Thus he distinctly says—‘where a transaction has taken place in day-time, in village or town or in the presence of witnesses, divine test is not applicable. It is applicable only where the transaction has taken place in a solitary forest, at night or in the interior of a house and in the cases of violence or of the denial of a deposit.’ In all such cases too ordeals become necessary, says Vijnāneśvara, only when witnesses are wanting.³ He further tells us on the authority of Kātyāyana that if the complainant and the defendant insist on the employment of two different kinds of proof, i.e., if one is prepared to undergo an ordeal and makes a proposal to that effect, and the other proposes to produce witnesses, the judge is to give preference to the latter’s proposal.⁴ These general rules have their exceptions and we know this from what Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana say. According to Bṛihaspati the charges relating to heavy crimes and appropriation of deposits

¹ राजद्रोह साहसिषु यथाकामम् । निक्षिपत्येवथप्रमाणम् ।—Vishnu, IX. I and 2.

² दिवाकृते कार्यविधौ ग्रामेषु नगरिषु वा ।
सम्भवे साक्षिणां चैव दिव्या न भवति क्रिया ॥
अरण्ये निर्जने रात्रावन्तर्वेश्मनि साहसि ।
न्यासस्थापकृते चैव दिव्या सम्भवति क्रिया ॥

Nārada, IV. 29 and 30.

³ यदुक्तं नारदेन अरण्ये निर्जने रात्रावित्यादि तदपि मानुषसम्भवे एव । तस्मान्मानुषाभावे एव दिव्येन निर्णय इत्यौक्त्यर्थिकम् ।—Mitāksharā on Yaj., II. 22.

⁴ यत्र परस्पर विवादेन युगपदधर्माधिकरणं प्राप्तयोः एकोमानुषीं क्रियाम् अपरस्तु देवीमवलम्बते तत्र मानुष्येव याच्या । तथाच कात्यायनः—यद्येकोमानुषीं ब्रूयादन्यो ब्रूयात्तु दैविकीम् । मानुषीं तत्र गृह्णीयात् न तु दैवीं क्रियां नृपः ।—Mit. on Yaj., II. 22.

are absolutely under the domain of ordeals and witnesses have no scope there.¹ He says further² that a forger of gems, pearl or coral, one withholding a deposit, a ruffian and an adulterer shall be tested by oaths and ordeals in every case. He holds also the view that the test of ordeal is to be applied when a doubt arises with regard to a document or oral evidence, when the proof of *anumāna* (inference) fails and when the witnesses have disappeared or are all of them perjured. Kātyāyana, too, in full agreement with Bṛihaspati says that witnesses should not be examined and trial should be conducted solely by having recourse to an ordeal in charges of murder and violence of a grave character.³ According to him divine test is to be applied in those cases also in which the evidences produced by both the complainant and the defendant are equally strong.⁴ It is interesting to note that he recommends also the optional use of ordeal and all kinds of human proof in lawsuits relating to debt, and of ordeal and witnesses only in such minor offences as abuse, assault and the employment of forcible means to recover a debt or to take possession of a piece of land belonging to another.⁵

¹ महापापाभिशापेषु निक्षेपहरेषु तथा । दिव्यैः कार्यं परीक्षेत राजा सत्स्वपि साक्षिषु ।—Viram., p. 114.

² मणिमुक्ताप्रवालानां कूटकन्यासहारकः । हिंसकोऽन्त्याङ्गनासेवौ परीत्यः शपथैः सदा ।—Viram., p. 114.

लिखिते साक्षिवादे च सन्देहो यत्र जायते । अनुमाने च सम्प्रान्ते तत्र देवं विशोधनम् ।—Sm. Chandrikā.

³ प्राणान्तिक विवादेषु विद्यमानेषु साक्षिषु ।

दिव्यसालम्बने वादी न पृच्छेत्तत्र साक्षिणः ॥—Viram. p. 114, Parāśara, p. 90.

उत्तमेषु च सर्वेषु साक्षिषु विचारयेत् । सर्वे तु दिव्यदृष्टेन सत्सु साक्षिषु वै भृगुः । Parāśara, p. 90.

⁴ समत्वं साक्षिणां यत्र दिव्यैस्तवापि शोधयेत्—Parāśara, p. 90.

⁵ प्रक्रान्ते साक्षि वादपारुष्ये दण्डवाचिके । बलीकृत्येषु कार्येषु साक्षिणो दिव्यमेव वा ।

कश्चेत् लिख्यं साक्षिणो वा युक्तिलिख्यादयोऽपि वा । दैविकी वा क्रिया प्रोक्ता प्रजानां हितकाय्या ॥ —Parāśara, p. 90.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE HUMAN MODES OF PROOF.

It has been seen above that according to Brihaspati *anumāna* is the worst kind of proof and as between witness, document and possession, document prevails over witness and possession prevails over both witness and document. In another place he says 'a document is never overruled by witnesses or by an oath.'¹ It should be understood that all these sayings regarding the relative value of the diverse kinds of proof refer to cases of debt, purchase, sale and ownership. Nārada also says that in such cases a document is a better kind of proof than witnesses.² But that possession is held to be the best of all proofs by him also is clear from his two verses which are rendered as follows:—

"A document has many blemishes, witnesses are neither free from old age, nor from death. Uninterrupted possession is the surest mode of proof inasmuch as it is not connected with any material object (*i.e.*, decay)."³

"A document is valid at all times. Witnesses can give valid evidence as long as they live. Possession becomes valid through the lapse of time. This is the injunction of the Śāstras."⁴

The commentator Asahāya has the following gloss upon these verses⁵:—"documents carefully preserved can furnish

¹ न जातु ह्यीयते लिख्यं साक्षिभिः शपथेन वा । —Sm. Chandrikā, p. 151.

² न दिव्यैः साक्षिभिर्नापि ह्यीयते लिखितं क्वचित् । —Smṛti Chandrikā, p. 151.

³ लिखितं स्याद्वहुच्छिद्रं साक्षिणो नात्ररामराः ।

भुक्तिस्त्वनर्थं सम्बन्धा सन्ततैर्वार्थसाधकौ । —Nar., IV. 73.

⁴ लिखितं बलवन्नित्यं जीवतश्चैव साक्षिणः ।

कालातिहरण्णादभुक्तिरिति शास्त्रविनिययः ॥ —Nar., IV. 75.

⁵ यदेतल्लिखितं नाम तत्पथवरक्षितं सत् स्मृतेश्चपि धनिकर्णिकसाक्षिषु पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रसन्तति संवध्यमानद्रव्यस्योभयपक्षसंभावितसंव्यवहारस्य प्रतिष्ठाप्रविष्टं द्रव्यप्रमाणसन्देहविच्छेदकारकं भवति । साक्षिणस्तु जीवन्त एव प्रमाणमिति । जीवतां चेतदपेक्षया लिखितं बलवन्नित्यमित्युक्तम् । यदा पुनः कालातिहरणं भवति तदा चतुर्थपञ्चमपुरुषोपरिष्ठादपि अपरिणितकालादपि सन्ततभुक्तौव धनी धनमवाप्नुयात् ।

valid evidence even after the creditor, the debtor and witnesses have died. Thus it can substantiate a claim raised by the son, grandson, great-grandson or a more remote descendant of the original owner. Witnesses can testify to a fact only in their life-time. Even while they live, a document is a superior kind of proof than they themselves are. On the other hand, a creditor may recover his loan even after four or five generations have passed away, *i.e.*, even after the lapse of an immeasurable period on the strength of uninterrupted possession." In the opinion of Kātyāyana the efficacy of these three kinds of proof differs according to the subjects of litigation. Thus writing (written law) and neither oath nor witness is the only proof with regard to the time-honoured institutions of guild, corporation and company¹; oral evidence of witnesses, and neither writing nor oath, is to be resorted to in cases of non-payment of debts and wages, disputes regarding ownership, rescission of sale and purchase, gambling and betting²; disputes regarding an entrance, roads, yards and drains should be decided by having recourse to the proof of possession and neither witnesses nor documents will be of any use there.³

DIVISIONS OF VYAVAHĀRA :

ITS RELATION WITH WITNESSES.

We have a verse from Nārada which seems to have a special significance as to the divisions of judicial

¹ पूगर्थं शिगणादीनां वा ितिः परिकीर्तिता । तस्यास्तु साधनं लेख्यं न दिव्यं न च साक्षिणः ॥
—Parāśara, p. 88.

² दत्तादत्तेषु भृत्यानां स्वामिनां निर्णये सति । विक्रिया दानसंवन्धे क्रीलाधनमयच्छति ॥
यूते समाह्वये चैव विवादे ससुपस्थिते । साक्षिणः साधनं प्रोक्तं न दिव्यं न च लेख्यकम् ॥—Par., p. 88.

³ द्वारमार्गं क्रियाभोगे जलवाहादिके तथा । भुक्तिरिव हि गुर्वो सग्रात्र लेख्यं न च साक्षिणः ॥—
Parāśara, p. 89, Mitāksharā on Yaj., II. 23. आभोगः परीणाहः तेन च परीणाहवदङ्गनादिकं
लक्ष्यते । जलवाहो जलनिर्गमनमार्गः ।—Vyavahāra Bālabhāttī. Sm. Chandrikā reads—
रथ्यानिर्गमनद्वार जलवाहादिसंशये, etc., p. 153.

proceedings. We quote the main part of the verse ¹ below :—

*Dharmaścha vyavahāraścha charitraṁ rājaśāsanaṁ
chatuṣpād vyavahāro.....*

Professor Aiyangar renders the verse thus ²—"Canon, judicial procedure, general acceptance of usage and royal edicts form the four-fold basis of the subject of litigation." This rendering is open to dispute, for it is clear from the commentary of Asahāya that Nārada's expression *Chatuṣpād* (four-footed) signifies the four divisions of judicial procedure into *Dharma*, *Vyavahāra*, *Charitra* and *Rājaśāsana* ³ and not the four-fold basis of the subject of litigation as Professor Aiyangar takes it. The commentary is lent support in a way by Bṛihaspati who declares that 'judgment in a doubtful matter is said to be of four sorts according as it is based on *Dharma*, *Vyavahāra*, *Charitra* and *Nṛipājñā*' (command of the King).⁴ Nārada in agreement with the earliest juristic conception of *Dharma* ⁵ goes on to say that witnesses are not required in *Dharmavyavahāra* inasmuch as its very essence is truth.⁶ Here, in the words of commentator Asahāya,⁷ though the parties have come to the court, they do not deviate from truth in their statements and as such witnesses and documents are not needed. There is nothing uncommon in such a state of affairs according to Hindu

¹ Nar., I, 10.

² Ancient Indian Polity, p. 131.

³ चतुर्भिर्भागपत्वात् चतुष्पादो व्यवहारः ।

⁴ धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया । चतुःप्रकारोऽभिहितः सम्बन्धेऽर्थविनिर्णयः ।
—Vīram, p. 8

⁵ Rigveda, I. X. 85 ; Taittiriya, I. X. 11 ; Bṛihadāraṇyaka, I. 4. 14.

⁶ तत्र सत्यस्थितौ धर्मः । —Nar., I. 11.

⁷ यदा धनिकर्णिकयोरेकान्तव्यवहारेऽपि परस्परं सत्याचलनं नास्ति, तदासौ सत्यव्यवहारः लभ्यते । तस्मिन् सत्यव्यवहारे साक्षात् धर्म एव स्थितः ॥ Acc. to the Mitāksharā धर्मव्यवहार rests on divine tests. See Mitāksharā on Yaj., II. 96.

ideas. The Hindu law-makers even suppose that there existed a time in which there was no *Vyavahāra* at all on account of the absolute truthfulness and religious disposition of all people. We may quote here the two very simple verses one by Nārada and another by Bṛihaspati to show what a beautiful notion these law-givers had about the ancient Hindu society.

“When people were absolutely religious and veracious, there existed neither lawsuits, nor hatred, nor selfishness.”¹

“In former ages men were strictly virtuous and devoid of mischievous propensities. Now that avarice and malice have taken possession of them, judicial proceedings have been established.”²

It is the second kind of law-suit going by the name of *Vyavahāra* which rests on the statements of witnesses.³ That is to say, when it is suspected that either of the parties has made a false statement, truth is to be ascertained with the help of judicial procedure which depends upon the evidence given by witnesses.⁴ The treatise on its own admission points to a state of Hindu Society when its relations became sufficiently complex. Taking it as a general observation we can well understand why ancient Vedic literature is wanting in references to formal procedure of trial by courts. When society is simple, no legal convention and formalities become necessary; but when with the advance of civilisation, as we now understand it, the social relations become more and more complex and people begin to swerve from the principles

¹ धर्मकतानाः पुरुषा यदासन् सत्यवादिनः । तदा न व्यवहारीऽभून्नवेषो नापि मत्सरः ॥—Nar., I. 1.

² धर्मप्रधानाः पुरुषाः पूर्वमासन्नहिंसकाः । लोभवेषाभिभूतानां व्यवहारः प्रवर्तते ॥—Viram., p. 5.

³ व्यवहारस्तु साक्षिषु ।—Nar., I. 11.

⁴ व्यवहारस्तु साक्षिष्विति यदुक्तं तत् धनिकर्णिकयोरेकतरदोषादपि सत्यधर्मचलनशङ्कोत्पत्तौ सञ्जातायां साक्षिप्रत्ययो यः संव्यवहारः प्रवर्तते स व्यवहार इत्युच्यते ।—Asahāya on Nar., I. 11.

of truth and righteousness for economic and other concomitant reasons, the introduction of an elaborate procedure becomes a desideratum.

WITNESSES.

Bṛihaspati divides witnesses into twelve classes. Six of them are described as *kṛita* (appointed at the time of the transaction) and the other six as *akṛita* (not-appointed), *i.e.*, those who though not appointed can subsequently depose.¹ The *kṛita* or appointed witnesses are :

1. *Likhita*—a subscribing witness, *i.e.*, one by whom a document is attested. He enters in a deed his own as well as his father's caste, name and so forth and the place of his residence.²

2. *Lekhita*—‘one caused to be written.’ This sort of witness is entered in a deed together with the details of the agreement by the plaintiff when writing a contract of loan.³

The difference between a *likhita* and a *lekhita* witness is that the former writes his name, caste, etc., with his own hand while the latter does not do so but is made a witness and entered in a deed when a contract is made in his presence.⁴

3. *Gūḍha*—‘a secret witness.’ He is made to hear, standing concealed behind a wall or some such thing,

¹ साची द्विविधो विज्ञेयः कृत एकोऽपरोऽकृतः । लिख्याहूदः कृतोज्ञेयो उत्तरोऽकृत उच्यते ॥ साचिलेनाथि प्रत्यर्थिभ्यां निरूपितः कृतः, अनिरूपितोऽकृतः ।—Viram., p. 143.

येन योऽर्थः प्रमितस्तवसाचिलेन प्रागनिरूपितोऽपि साचिलेन विज्ञाद्योपन्यसः (अकृतः) ।—Viram., p. 146.

² जाति नामादि लिखितं येन स्वं पितृमेव च । निवासश्च स विज्ञेयः साची लिखितसंज्ञकः ॥—Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 184.

³ संवित् क्रियां क्रियाभेदैः कार्यं कृत्वा ऋणादिकम् । प्रत्यचं लिख्यते यश्च लिखितः स उदाहृतः ।—Aparārka, p. 66.

अर्थिना च क्रियाभेदेस्तस्य कृत्वा ऋणादिकम्—another reading.

⁴ यद्युनः...उक्तं लिखितो लिखित इत्यादि वलिखितस्यावात्तरभेदं स्नानादिलिपिकर्तृत्वकारयितृत्वरूपसाश्रित्योक्तम् ।—Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 186.

distinctly what the defendant speaks concerning a certain debt and relates the statements of the defendant just as he heard them, in order to establish the claim of the complainant if the defendant tries to deny the debt in a law court.¹

4. *Smārita*—² ‘one reminded.’ He is not entered in the deed. He is invited at a transaction concerning loan, deposit or purchase and is reminded repeatedly of it by the claimant in order to keep his memory fresh and to insure the publicity of the transaction. Bṛihaspati further tells us that not to remind witnesses of the transaction frequently is one of the reasons for losing one’s cause.³

5. *Yadrīchchhābhijña* ⁴—‘a casual or spontaneous witness.’ He also is not entered in the deed. He happens to be on the spot of transaction accidentally and is made a witness by the parties. The material point of difference between a *smārita* and a *yadrīchchhābhijña* witness lies in the fact that the former is purposely brought near the transaction and the latter makes his appearance quite accidentally.

6. *Uttarasākshī*—‘an indirect witness.’ He is a witness who deposes to facts from the reports of others. According to Bṛihaspati he is one ‘who either repeats from his own hearing or from the reports of others the previous statements of actual witness⁵ or ‘to whom is communicated

¹ कुड्यव्यवहृती यस्तु ग्राह्यते ऋणिभाषितम् । विनिर्जुतो यथाभूतं गूढः साक्षी स उच्यते ।
—Aparārka Bhashya, p. 667.

² आह्वय यः ज्ञातः साक्षी ऋणव्यासक्रियादिके । स्मरति च सुदुर्ग्रथ स्मारितः स उदाहृतः ।
—Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 184, Aparārka, p. 667.

³ भूमीरभुक्तिं लेख्यस्य यथाकालमदर्शनम् ।

अस्मारणं साक्षिणाच्च स्वार्थहानिकरानिच ॥

⁴ क्रियमाणे तु कर्तव्ये यः कश्चित् स्वयमागतः । अतः साक्षी त्वमस्माकमुक्तो यादृच्छिकस्तु सः ॥
—Aparārka, p. 667.

⁵ साक्षिणामपि यः सात्यमुपर्युपरिभाषताम् । श्रवणात् श्रावणादपि स सात्युत्तरसंज्ञितः ॥
—Vīram., p. 145.

by an original witness what he knows about a certain case at the time when he goes abroad or is lying on his death-bed.¹ Julius Jolly thinks that the function of an *Uttarasākshī* was merely to corroborate the statements of other witnesses either from his own knowledge or from hearsay.

Narada does not recognise the '*lekhitā*' witness and thus according to him *kṛita* witnesses are of five sorts.²

The most preliminary thing for a witness to be eligible to depose is that he must be appointed by either of the parties after the complaint is lodged. Manu, Nārada, Viṣṇu and Bodhāyana all agree that a person may give evidence only when called upon to do so by the suitors (*arthiyuktāḥ*) and no one who volunteers to give evidence without being summoned will be reckoned as a witness.³ The expression *arthiyuktāḥ* used by Manu indicates that the names of the witnesses had to be mentioned by the parties in separate lists and that it was so is clear from Yājñavalkya also. It is stated there that after the defendant has tendered his answer to the plaint of the complainant, the complainant or the defendant should immediately write down what his evidences are in his favour.⁴ But it should be noted at the same time that the fact of a witness not having been named in the list was not considered an absolute ground for refusing to

¹ यत्र साक्षी दिग्गच्छेन्न सूर्युर्वी यथाक्रमम् । अत्र्यं संशययेत्तन् विद्यादुत्तरसाक्षिणम् ।
—Aparārka, p. 667.

² लिखितं लिखितयोः स्वरलिखनमात्रमिदादेकादश द्वादशसंख्ययो रविरोधः ।—Viram., p. 145

³ अर्थ्युक्ताः सात्यमर्हन्ति न ये केचिदनापदि—Manu, VIII. 69.

अर्थिना यदोक्तं भवति एते मम साक्षिणः साक्षिकर्मणि योग्या भवन्ति, ये तु स्वयमागताः सात्यं ददति न ते साक्षिणः ।—Medhātithi. अनिर्दिष्टस्तु साक्षिण्ये स्वयमेवैव योवदेत् । सूचीयुक्तः स शास्त्रेषु न स साक्षिलमर्हति ।—Nārada, IV. 167. अनिर्दिष्टस्तु साक्षिण्ये यथोपेयं ब्रूयात् स असाक्षी ।
—Viṣṇu, VIII. 4. साक्षिण्यं लेवमुद्दिष्टं यवात् प्रच्छेदविचक्षणः ।—Bodhāyana, I. 10. 31.

⁴ ततोऽर्थी लिखयेत् सद्यः प्रतिज्ञातार्थसाधनम्—Yaj, II. 7. Here the word *arthī* may mean the plaintiff or the defendant according to the nature of the reply submitted by the defendant to the petition of the plaintiff.

examine him. For, in another verse of Manu we find that persons not originally appointed as witnesses can also be examined by the court if it be known that they saw or heard anything regarding the facts of the case under trial.¹ They are described as *akṛita* witnesses by Nārada and Brihaspati. These authorities are also of opinion that special people only under special circumstances can be admitted as *akṛita* witnesses. As has been stated above, they recognise only six kinds of such witnesses and they are :

1. *Grāma*.²—‘The people of the village may give evidence without any special appointment as to what has been anywhere spoiled or damaged in the boundary line.’

2. *Prāḍvivāka*.³—He may act as a witness if a fresh trial should take place of a suit decided by himself.

3. *Rājā*.—‘The king in person having heard the speeches of plaintiff and defendant, may act as a witness if both should quarrel with one another.’⁴ Asahāya thinks⁵ that the king can give testimony with regard to what has happened before his eyes.

4. *Kāryābhyantara*.⁶—‘One to whom an affair has been entrusted or communicated by both the parties, i.e., one who knows the innermost secrets of both the parties.

5. *Kūlya*.⁷—‘A family witness.’ He is acquainted with the rules of duty, is on good terms with both the parties

¹ यवानिवडोऽप्येतेषां शृणुयाद्वापि किञ्चन । पृष्टस्तत्रापि तद्वृथाह यथाष्टं यथायुतम् ।— VIII. 76.

² सुवितं घातितं यत् सीमायाश्च समन्ततः । अर्थतोऽपि भवेत्साक्षी ग्रामस्तत्र न संशयः ।—
Aparārka, p. 667.

³ निर्णीतिं व्यवहारे तु पुनर्न्यायो यदाभवेत् । अश्वत्थः सभ्यसहितः साक्षी स्यात्तत्र नान्यथा ।—
Aparārka, p. 667.

⁴ अग्निप्रत्यर्थिनोर्वाक्यं यच्छ्रुतं भूयता स्वयम् । स एव तत्र साक्षी रुद्र विस्वादे तयोरपि ।—
Aparārka, p. 667.

⁵ राज्ञः पुरतो वृत्तस्य राजा साक्षी ।

⁶ उभाभ्यां यस्य विश्वस्तं कार्यं चापि निवेदितम् । गृहचारो स विज्ञेयः कार्यमध्यगतस्तथा ।—
Aparārka, p. 667.

⁷ विभागदाने विपक्षे ज्ञातिर्यथोपयुज्यते । हयोः समानी धर्मज्ञः कुल्यः स परिकीर्तितः ।—
Aparārka, p. 667.

and is appointed by them to witness a deed of partition, gift or sale.

6. *Dūtaka*.¹—The expression used by Nārada is *arthinā prahitah*. According to Bṛihaspati he is a messenger, is respectable, esteemed and approved by both the parties. He listens to the speeches of both the plaintiff and the defendant.

It is evident that the rule about the *akṛita* witnesses which is rather an exception to the general rule was based upon two considerations : (1) necessity for evidence and (2) circumstantial guarantee of trustworthiness.

As to the question of the period within which the *kṛita* witnesses can give valid evidence it is laid down by Nārada that a subscribing witness (*likhita*) may testify even after the lapse of a very long period and the depositions of the reminded (*smārita*) casual (*yadrichchhā-bhijña*), secret (*gūḍha*) and indirect witnesses (*uttarasākshī*) are valid if given within the 8th, 5th, 3rd and the 1st year respectively.² That such a rule is most arbitrary in its character is evident and Parāśara Dharmasamhitā declares that this is not the real opinion of Nārada and as such may be discarded.³ The opinion of Nārada, according to it, is embodied in another verse⁴ which says that the period within which a witness can give valid evidence

¹ अर्थिं प्रत्यर्थिवचनं शृणुयात् प्रेषितस्तु यः । उभयोः सम्मतः साधुर्दूतकः स उदाहृतः ।—
Aparārka, p. 667.

² सुदीर्घणापि कालेन लिखितः सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् ।.....

आष्टमाद् वत्सरात् सिद्धिः स्मरितस्तेह साक्षिणः । आपञ्चमातथा सिद्धिर्यदृच्छीपगतस्य च ॥

आष्टतृतीयातथा वर्षात् सिद्धिर्गूढस्य साक्षिणः । आ सवत्सरतः सिद्धिर्वदन्तुत्तरसाक्षिणः ॥

Nar., IV. 167-169.

³ यस्पुनस्तेनैवोक्तमास्वत्सरादित्यादि तत्परमताभिप्रायेणोक्तम् ।—Parāśara, p. 104.

⁴ समतसुपरि स एवाह—निर्णये कालनियमो न दृष्टं साक्षिणं प्रति ।

स्युपेक्षं हि साक्षित्वमाहुः शास्त्रविदीजनाः ॥

यस्य नोपहृता बुद्धिः स्वतिः श्रोतं च नित्यशः ।

सुदीर्घणापि कालेन स साक्षी साध्यमर्हति ॥

Nar., IV. 170-171 (Parāśara, p. 104).

depends upon his power of memory and a witness can testify to an event even after a long time if his memory, intellectual capacity and power of hearing are strong. Thus under this rule as observed by Asahāya, the validity of any testimony is declared independent of length of time and to depend on the competence of the witness alone.¹

It is an accepted principle of Hindu law that the main duty of the king is to uphold the rule of right against the rule of might by an impartial administration of justice and protection of the rights and interests of the people. The evil effects of indiscriminate judgment of cases, are stated in a passage of *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*² and narrated more popularly by Manu and Nārada thus³ :— “If the king did not without tiring, inflict punishment on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit; the crow would eat the sacrificial cake and the dog would lick the sacrificial viands and ownership would not remain with any one, the lower ones would usurp the place of the higher ones.” “An honest person becomes a thief and a thief becomes an honest person; Māṇḍavya though not a thief was proved to be one such through bad trial.”⁴ Now in the trial of a case oral evidence is the determining factor of truth and the accused is acquitted or punished mainly on the strength of such evidence. So it is a most essential thing for the tribunal to see that most reliable depositions are obtained in order to ascertain facts from them. Thus we can

¹ एतावतोऽवधेः प्रश्नकालनियमो न दृष्टः साक्षिणं प्रति । आभ्यासपि कालनियमप्रतिषेधः साक्षिणस्यानुस्मरणत्वकालिन क्रियते ।

² I. 4. 14.

³ यदि न प्रणयेद्राजा दण्डं दृष्ट्वाश्वतन्द्रितः । शूलं मत्स्यानिवापत्यन् दुर्बलान् बलवतराः ॥
अद्यात् काकः पुरोडाशं आ च लिङ्गाहविस्तथा । स्वास्यं च न स्यात् कश्चिश्चित् प्रवर्तताधरोत्तरम् ॥

—Manu, VII. 20 and 21.

⁴ यात्यचीरोऽपि चीरत्वं चीरश्चायात्यचीरताम् ।

अचीरशीरतां प्राप्नो माण्डव्यो व्यवहारतः ॥—Nar., I. 42.

understand what led the ancient law-makers of India to make a great effort to ensure the reliability of the media of investigation.

ORAL EVIDENCE IS TO BE DIRECT.

According to Hindu law-givers oral evidence as a rule, should in all cases be direct. Manu says, "evidence in accordance with what has been seen or heard is admissible."¹ Vishṇu also is of the same opinion. In his opinion "the evidence of witness is of two kinds either of what has been seen or what has been heard."² According to Nārada "a *sākshī* (witness) is so called from his directly knowing the occurrence with eyes or ears. The knowing with ears is of what others say and with eyes of what he actually sees himself."³ Evidently the texts above quoted give a derivative meaning of the word *sākshī*. A person is called *sākshī* from the directness of his knowledge of the occurrence about which he is going to depose. That this was the accepted view is clear from a *sūtra* of Pāṇini as well '—*sākshāt drashṭari samjñāyām*⁴ (the suffix *in* is added to the word *sākshāt* and the word so formed means 'a direct observer'). Bodhāyana is more explicit and says,⁵ 'a witness should say what he has seen or heard.' Taking all these views together we can gather—"if it refers to a thing which could be seen, it must be the evidence of a witness who says he actually saw it and if it refers to a thing which could be heard it must be the evidence of a witness who says he actually heard it."

¹ समक्षदर्शनात् साक्षी श्रवणाच्चेव सिध्यति ।—Manu, VIII. 74.

² समक्ष दर्शनात्, साक्षी श्रवणाद्वा ।—Vishṇu, VIII. 13.

³ समक्ष दर्शनात् साक्षी विज्ञेयः श्रोतवच्छ्रुषोः । श्रोतव्या यत् परो ब्रूते चच्छ्रुषोर्दर्शनम् स्वयम् ॥—Nar., IV. 145.

⁴ Pāṇini, V. 2. 91.

⁵ यथादृष्टं यथाश्रुतं साक्षी ब्रूयात्, ।—I. 10. 29.

Medhatithi's explanation of Manu's text is that it enacts the general rule against the admission of hearsay.¹ Hearsay evidence is the 'evidence not of what the witness knows himself but what he has heard from others.' This is derivative or second-hand evidence and should be excluded as far as possible, owing to its inferiority as compared with its original source. The commentator is further of opinion that *darśana* and *śravaṇa* of Manu connote one thing only, i.e., the correct mode of perception.²

This explanation of Medhātithi is derived from another verse of Manu which states 'but any person whatsoever who has a personal knowledge of an act committed..... may give evidence between the parties.'³ This appears to be the correct interpretation⁴ of Manu's injunction and the Śukranīti fully endorses this view while saying 'a person other than the parties who has a true knowledge of the affair may be a witness.'⁵

So as a general rule, best evidence is always to be accepted. It may be noted, however, that under certain circumstances the secondary evidence of oral testimony is also admitted. These circumstances are created first by the death of the appointed witness and secondly by his going to a distant land which makes his presence in courts impossible and thus the production of primary evidence out of the party's power. We find it expressly mentioned in Nārada that indirect proof through a second-hand statement makes evidence just like direct proof when the appointed witness dies or goes abroad and speaks of the

¹ यत् कुतश्चिदेकेन श्रूयते, ततोऽन्येन, तत् परम्पराश्रुतं तेन परम्पराश्रावी न साक्षी।—Medhātithi on Manu, VIII. 74.

² किन्तु एतावन्मात्रं विवक्षितं प्रमाणतो येनानुभूतं स साक्षी।—Medhātithi on Manu, VIII. 74.

³ अनुभावी तु यः कश्चित् कुर्यात् साक्ष्यं विवादिनाम्।—VIII. 69.

⁴ Govindaswāmin's explanation of the word *yathāśrutāni* in Bodhāyana's text above referred to is *aptavākyaḍavagatāni*, i.e., known from the words of a trustworthy person.

⁵ अपरः कार्यविज्ञानी यः स साक्षी।—Śukra, IV. 5. 184.

matter either in answer to questions of the plaintiff or of his own accord, to other men.¹ Vishṇu also says²—‘an appointed witness having died or gone abroad, those who have heard his depositions may give evidence.’ It may interest the reader to notice how far the Hindu law-makers anticipated the principles of modern legislation, according to which ‘the statements written or verbal of a person who is dead or cannot be found are relevant facts in certain special cases’ and further ‘the evidence given by a witness in a judicial proceeding is relevant for the purpose of proving in a subsequent judicial proceeding the truth of the facts which it states, when the witness is dead or cannot be found.’

CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE.

Kauṭilya says, ‘in the absence of witness (*i.e.*, direct evidence), the nature of the hurt and other circumstances connected with the quarrel in question shall be evidences.’³ He holds also the view that the defendant should be asked as to not only the nature of the work he did during the day previous to the theft but also the place where he spent the night till he was caught hold of.’⁴ Thus we see evidence has been divided into direct evidence and circumstantial evidence even from the time of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya thinks at the same time that direct evidence is of superior force and conviction cannot be obtained merely on circumstantial evidence. For he goes on to say, ‘owing to one’s accidental presence on the scene of theft, or to one’s

¹ साक्ष्यद्विष्टो यदि प्रेयाद् गच्छेद् वापि दिगन्तरम् । तच्छ्रोतारः प्रमाणं सः प्रमाणं ह्युत्तरा क्रिया ॥ यस्य सुसूक्ष्मं विद्यासीत् तदर्थं प्रष्टव्यार्थिना उद्देश्युत्तरार्थस्य वा स्वयं विद्यावयती वचनं श्रुतं यैस्ते उत्तरसाक्षिणः प्रष्टव्याः—Nārada, IV. 166 and Asahāya.

² उद्दिष्टसाक्षिणि सति दिगन्तरगते वा तदभिहितज्ञातारः प्रमाणम् ।—VIII. 12.

³ असाक्षिके घातः कलहोपलिङ्गनं वा ।—Kan., III. 19. 73.

⁴ ततः पूर्वस्वाङ्गः प्रचारं रात्रौ निवासञ्च ‘आगच्छादिति’ अनुयुञ्जीत ।—IV. 8.

accidental resemblance to the real thief in respect of his appearance, his dress, his weapons or possession of articles similar to those stolen, or owing to one's presence near the stolen articles as in the case of Māṇḍavya who under the fear of torture admitted himself to be the thief, one though innocent is often seized as a thief. *Hence the production of conclusive evidence shall be insisted upon.*¹ Āpastamba is against this view and we have seen that he recognises *linga* or inference drawn from circumstances as one of the modes of proof. Bṛihaspati also does not agree with Kautilya regarding the question of the value of circumstantial evidence. Though he says that the real value of circumstantial evidence lies in supplementing the primary or direct evidence,² yet by recognising *anumāna* or inference drawn from circumstantial evidence as one of the independent means of proof, he seems to give circumstantial evidence an importance equal to that of primary evidence.

We have seen above that Nārada also recommends the trial of some cases without the help of witnesses and on the strength of circumstantial evidences alone and thus according to him circumstantial evidence and primary evidence stand on the same footing. "Facts cannot lie, but men can"—seems to be his belief.

WITNESSES ARE TO COME FROM ONE'S OWN CASTE AND CLASS.

It is laid down by Manu that in civil cases and under ordinary circumstances 'women should give evidence

¹ एतेषां कारणानामनभिसम्बन्धिना.....अचौरं विद्यात् । दृश्यते हि अचौरोऽपि चोरमाणं यदृच्छ्या, सन्निपाते चोरवेषशस्त्रभाण्डसामान्येन गृह्यमाणो दृष्टः चोरभाण्डस्त्रोपवासेन वा यथाहि माण्डव्यः कर्मक्षेत्रभयादचोरः 'चोरोऽस्मि' इति ब्रुवाणः । तस्मात् समाप्तकरणं नियमयेत् ।—IV. 8.

² केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः ।

युक्तिहीनं विचारं हि धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥—Viram., p. 18.

for women and for twice-born men twice-born men of the same kind (*dvijānām sadriśāḥ dvijāḥ*) virtuous *sūdras* for *sūdras* and men of the lowest caste for the lowest.¹ In *Vāsiṣṭha Samhitā* also we meet with an identical injunction.² Kulluka and Nandana explain the word *sadriśa* as *sajātiya*, i.e., of the same caste, Govindarāja explains it as 'of the same caste and equally virtuous.' According to Medhātithi the word *sadriśa* means here 'of the same caste, occupation, learning, character,³ etc.' Yājñavalkya says, 'the witnesses should be of the same class (*yathājāti*) and of the same caste (*yathāvarṇa*).⁴ The word *jāti* has been used, according to the *Mitākṣharā*, in reference to the various sub-classes and *varṇa* to the four main castes.⁵ In the opinion of Nārada, also *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas*, and *Sūdras* should give evidence for people of the same caste under normal circumstances.⁶ But that equality of class or rank was to be taken into consideration in the matter of selecting witnesses, is evident from his statement that a member of a corporate body should give evidence for a similar member, a member of an association shall be a witness among other members, an alien for an alien and women for women.⁷ The four words used by Nārada in this connection are *śrenī*, *varga*, *bahirvāsī* and *strī*, a pertaining to rank, status and sex all implied in *jāti* in

¹ स्त्रीणां साक्ष्यं स्त्रियः कुर्युर्द्विजानां सदृशः द्विजाः । शूद्राश्च सन्तः शूद्राणामन्यनानामन्यथोनयः ॥—VIII. 68.

² स्त्रीणान्तु साक्षिणः स्त्रियः कुर्युर्द्विजानां सदृशः द्विजाः । शूद्राणां सन्तः शूद्राश्च अन्यनानामन्याः ॥—Vas., XVI.

³ सादृश्यं जात्या शिल्पादिना वा गुणेन क्रियया च युताभ्ययनादिकया समानशीलतया—...

⁴ यथा जाति यथावर्णं सर्वे सर्वेषु वा स्युताः ॥—Yaj., II. 70.

⁵ जातयो मूर्धावसिक्तादयः, वर्णाः ब्राह्मणादयः ।

⁶ ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा ये चाप्यनिन्दिताः ।

प्रतिवर्णं भवेयुस्ते सर्वे सर्वेषु वा स्युताः ॥—IV. 154.

⁷ श्रेणीषु श्रेणीपुरुषाः स्त्रेषु वर्गेषु वर्गिणः । बहिर्वासिषु बाह्याः स्युः स्त्रियः स्त्रीषु च साक्षिणः ॥—Nārada, IV. 155.

addition to its accepted meaning of caste and Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa rightly comments that the word *jāti* has been used by Yājñavalkya with a view to signify *śrenī*, *varga*, etc., as well.¹ The rule that the witnesses should be of the same caste and status with the parties for whom they are to depose is not to be taken, however, as absolute and is to be observed where there is possibility of securing plenty of witnesses. This is clear from the following authoritative pronouncements of Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Vasishṭha: (1) *Sarve sarveshū vā smṛitāḥ* and² (2) *sākshiṇaḥ sarva eva vā*,³ i.e. (in cases of emergency) all can act as witnesses for all. According to the *Mitāksharā* this relaxation of the rule, however, is allowed only when witnesses of the same caste and rank are not available.⁴ If we take *ślokas* 59 and 70 (Chap. VIII) of *Manu* together and consider the interpretation put on them by *Kulluka*, it will be seen that the above modification of the general rule is to be allowed not in civil cases but in urgent criminal suits only.⁵

Manu further says, 'in all cases of violence, of theft and adultery, of defamation and assault, the judge must not examine the competence of witnesses too strictly.'⁶ This view is strongly supported by *Kātyāyana*, *Vishṇu* and

¹ जातियहणं श्रेण्यदिरप्युपलक्षणार्थम् ।—*Smṛiti Chandrikā*, p. 176.

² *Yaj.*, II. 70, *Nar.*, IV. 154.

³ *Vas.*, XVI.

⁴ सजातिसवर्णसम्भवे सर्वे सूर्धावसिक्तादयो ब्राह्मणादयश्च सर्वेषु सूर्धावसिक्तादिषु ब्राह्मणादिषु च यथासम्भवं साक्षिणी भवन्ति ।

⁵ गृह्णाम्यग्निदण्डादौ वा चौरादिकृतोपद्रवे दीहोपघाते वा आतताय्यादिकृते यः कश्चिदुपलभ्यते स वादिनोरेव साक्षी भवति । न तु क्षणदानादिवदुक्तलक्षणापेक्षितः । अन्तर्वेश्मादौ उक्तसाक्ष्यभावे सति स्त्रोवाल-वृद्ध-शिशु-बन्धु-दास कर्मकरा अपि साक्षिणी भवन्ति ।

⁶ साक्षिणेषु च सर्वेषु क्षेत्रसंयहणेषु च ।

वाग्दण्डयोश्च पारुष्ये न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ॥—VIII. 72.

Nārada.¹ Nārada however opines that even in such cases infants, women, a single witness, a forger, a friend and an enemy must not be allowed to give evidence.² Kautilya also is for rejecting some persons even in such cases while saying "even in disputes concerning assault, theft or abduction, enemies, co-partners and wife's brother must not be allowed to testify."³

NUMBER OF WITNESSES.

Gautama simply says 'witnesses should be many'⁴ and does not fix any number. Consequently his expression many (*bahu*) cannot be taken to mean anything but more than one, maximum being unknown. But the meaning of this expression can be made clear in the light of other authorities quoted below. According to Manu the number should be at least three.⁵ Yājñavalkya and Nārada also are of the same opinion.⁶ Asahāya, commentator of Nārada, thinks that in a dispute regarding landed property more than three witnesses are

¹ सर्वः साक्षी संग्रहणे चार्थ्यपारुष्यसाहसे ।

असाक्षिणो ये निर्दिष्टा दासो नेकृतिकादयः ।

कार्थ्यगौरवमासाद्य भवेयुस्तेऽपि साक्षिणः ॥

साहसेषु च सर्वेषु सेयसंग्रहणेषु च ।

पारुष्ययोश्चाप्यभयो न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ॥—Nar., IV. 188 and 189.

सेयसाहसवाग्दण्डपारुष्यसंग्रहणेषु साक्षिणो न परीक्ष्याः ।—Vishnu, VIII. 7.

कृष्णादिषु परीक्षेत साक्षिणः स्थिरकर्मसु । साहसात्ययिके चैव परीक्षा कुत्रचित् स्मृता ।

—Kātyāyana (Smṛiti Chandrikā, p., 183).

व्याघातेषु वृषाज्जायाः सङ्गहेसाहसेषु च । सेयपारुष्ययोश्चैव न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ।

—Kātyāyana (Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 183).

² तेषामपि न बालः स्वात् न स्त्री नैको न कूटकृतः । न बान्धवो न चारातिव्रतयुक्तो सात्यमन्यथा ।

—Nar., IV. 90.

³ पारुष्यस्तेयसंग्रहणेषु वैरिस्थानसहायवर्जाः । XIII. 11.

⁴ बहवः स्युः.....XIII. 2.

⁵ त्रयवरैः साक्षिभिर्मात्र्यो वृषत्राज्जाणसन्निधौ ।—VIII. 60.

⁶ त्रयवराः साक्षिणो ज्ञेयाः ।—Yāj. II. 70 त्रयवराः साक्षिणोऽनिन्द्याः शुचयः शुद्धबुद्धयः ।—Nar., IV. 153.

necessary.¹ According to Brihaspati witnesses should be nine, seven, five, four or three in number; two even might do, if they are *śrotriya*s;² but never one, except when he happens to be a messenger, an accountant, one who has accidentally witnessed the transaction or a chief judge.³ Devanabhaṭṭa thinks that the number “two” also refers to subscribing or secret witnesses only.⁴ His opinion is based on another verse of Brihaspati which states that of subscribing and secret witnesses there should be two of each sort; of spontaneous reminded and family witnesses and of indirect witnesses there should be three, four or five of each sort.⁵ Nārada is very emphatic against a single witness being examined. While saying that the competence of witnesses should not be too strictly examined in urgent criminal cases, he insists that even then only one man would not do.⁶ Manu does not favour the idea of appointing one witness only and Viṣṇu also follows him by saying ‘nor can one man alone be made a witness.’⁷ The following reason is suggested by Kulluka for the rule:—there should be much difficulty in deciding a case, if there be only one witness for it; for, he might go abroad or die.⁸ The real intention of such rule was evidently to avoid the danger of injustice being done by giving credence to the story of a single

¹ अधिकास्तु भवादौ ।

² नव सप्त पञ्च वा सुश्रुत्वारस्तथ एव वा । उभौ तु श्रोत्रियौ याज्ञौ नैकं पृच्छेत् कदाचन ।—
May., p. 23.

³ दूतकः खटिकायाही कार्यमध्यगतस्तथा । एक एव प्रमाणं स्यान्नृपोऽध्यक्षस्तथैव च ॥—
Parāśara, p. 103.

⁴ तदोभाविति लिखितगृह साक्षिविषयम् । यतोऽनन्तरमाह.....Smṛti Chandrikā, p. 174.

⁵ लिखितौ द्वौ तथा गृहौ त्रिचतुष्यञ्च लिखिताः । यद्व्याख्याः स्मारिताः कुल्यास्तथा चोत्तरसाक्षिणः ॥
—Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 175.

⁶ तेषामपि न बालः स्यात् न स्त्री नैको न कूटक्षत् ।—Nar., IV. 190.

⁷ एकश्चासाक्षी.—VIII. 5.

⁸ नैको विनाशप्रवासशङ्कया ।—On Manu, VIII. 66.

witness. The injunctions against the appointment of a single witness must be taken, however, as mere statements of a general principle which is not without some exceptions, for Yājñavalkya, Manu, Viṣṇu, Nārada and Kātyāyana in agreement with each other concede that 'even one witness might be allowed if he was approved by both the parties, truthful, virtuous and above all free from covetousness.'¹ The opinion of Vyāsa incorporated in a verse quoted by Kulluka in his commentary on verse 70 (Chap. VIII) of Manu and also occurring in the Viramītrodaya is without the least ambiguity. According to him, one man even, if he is truthful, of pure deeds and virtuous should be deemed sufficient to prove any fact to which he speaks specially in criminal suits.² Kautīlya, however, is of opinion that in cases based upon secret dealings, only one person who happens to overhear the parties or see the occurrence unnoticed by others may be called in as a witness.³ All these views taken together prove beyond doubt that the law-givers of the past realised the fact that the insistence on calling in of many witnesses might create an obstacle to the administration of justice and thus, though they were generally not in favour of a single witness being called, thought at the same time that evidence of that single witness could establish any fact to which he spoke directly, if he was absolutely honest and trustworthy.

¹ उभयानुमतः साक्षी भवत्येकोऽपि धर्मवित् ।—Yāj., II. 74.

अभिहितगुणसम्पन्न उभयानुमत एकोऽपि ।—Viṣṇu, VIII. 9.

एकोऽनुव्यस्तु साक्षी स्यात् ।—Manu, VIII. 77.

अथनारस्तु निक्षेपे साक्ष्यमेकोऽपि वाच्यते ।—Kātyāyana (Smṛti Chandrikā, p. 175).

अथवानुमतो यस्य द्वयोर्विदमानयोः ।

स साक्ष्येकोऽपि साक्षि वे प्रष्टव्यः स्वातुसंसदि ।—Nārada (Smṛti Chandrikā, p. 175).

² शुचिक्रियश्च धर्मज्ञः साक्षी यवानुभूतवाक् ।

प्रमाणमेकोऽपि भवेत् साक्षसिषु विशेषतः ॥—Viram, p. 150, Smṛti Chandrikā, p. 175.

³ रहस्यवहारेषु एका स्त्री पुरुष उपश्रोता उपद्रष्टा वा ।—III. 11.

Persons qualified to be witnesses :—

1. Householders—Manu, VIII. 62.
2. Persons having sons—Manu VIII. 62, Yāj. II. 69, Vishṇu VIII. 8.
3. The native of a place (an indigenous inhabitant of the country as Bühler puts it)—Manu VIII. 62.
4. Trustworthy persons—Manu VIII. 63.
5. Dutiful persons—Manu VIII. 63, Vishṇu VIII. 8, Yāj. II. 69.
6. Those who are free from covetousness—Manu VIII. 63.
7. Those born in high family—Vishṇu VIII. 8, Yāj. II. 69, Nar. II. 153.
8. Those who are jealous in the practice of religious austerities—Vishṇu VIII. 8, Nar. II. 153, Yāj. II. 69, Vāśishṭha XVI.
9. Sacrificers (hermits of the Vānaprastha order) Vishṇu VIII. 8, Yāj. II. 69.
10. Students—Vishṇu VIII. 8.
11. Those who speak the truth—Vishṇu VIII. 8, Yāj. II. 69, Vas. XVI.
12. Those who are learned in the Vedic lore—Vishṇu VIII. 8.
13. Those who are sufficiently grown up—Vishṇu VIII. 8.
14. Those who are charitably disposed—Yāj. II. 69.
15. Persons simple by nature—Yāj. II. 59, Nar. II. 153.
16. *Śrotriya*s—Vas. XVI.
17. Persons of gentlemanly appearance (*rūpavān*)—Vas. XVI.
18. Those who are of good character—Vas. XVI.
19. Men of substance—Yāj. II. 69, Vishṇu VIII. 8.
20. Persons trusted by the king—Gau. XIII. 2.
21. Persons free from partiality or malice—Gau. XIII. 2.

The main thing to be seen in connection with the eligibility of a witness is whether he is trustworthy and truthful. It will be seen from the above list that the law-givers of the past fully realised this and they did not satisfy themselves by saying only that a person should be known as speaking the truth in order to be admitted as a witness but were shrewd enough to name the person or class of persons who might possess that quality either naturally or through consideration of future interest. Thus those who are dutiful, simple, free from greed, religiously disposed and of good character may be expected to be naturally truthful. Those who are known for their charity and riches are not likely to speak falsehood for small gains and the learned can easily resist temptations. Hermits and *śrotriya*s, though they are householders, care not much for worldly prosperity and students by nature are simple and truthful. The householders and the persons having sons, though they may have no special love for truth, are less likely to give false evidence at least for the love they bear to their hearths and homes. They might personally run away after telling an untruth in courts but their sons, wives and relations might be molested by the king.¹ Perhaps the absence of this consideration in a *pravrajita* was responsible for the enactment of the rule against his admissibility as a witness.² The natives of the place are naturally afraid of falsely testifying against each other for fear of enmity and quarrels.³ People born in high family have the reputation of their family constantly in mind and thus they are not likely to bring disgrace on it by speaking

¹ ते हि कृतपरिकरपुत्रभयात् नान्यथा वदन्ति—Kulluka on VIII. 62.

ते हि स्वकालवपरिभवभयात् कृतमाचरन्ति । कुटुम्बिनः स्वकुटुम्बभयात् क आत्मानं परिरक्षिष्याम इति दूरं कृत्वा कुटुम्बस्या सपेक्षतया राजदण्डभयात् नान्यथा प्रवर्तते । पुत्रिणः पुत्ररक्षेहात् । (Medhātithi)

² Yaj., II. 71.

³ देशवासिना विरोधाच्च.—Kulluka on VIII. 62.

falsehood in courts. Persons of immature consideration may do a thing indiscriminately and thus witnesses have to be persons fairly grown up. Outward appearance is generally an index of inward nature and thus those possessing gentlemanly appearance are possibly the possessors of merits as well. This consideration most probably weighed with Vaśishṭha in whose opinion a witness should be a person of elegant looks (*rūpavān*). Above all witnesses are to be impartial in all respects and Gautama rightly points out that freedom from partiality for and malice against either of the parties is a great thing to be considered in connection with the eligibility of a witness.

COMPETENCY AND COMPELLABILITY.

The important point to note here is that according to the ancient law-givers all witnesses competent to give evidence in a case were compellable to do so and thus it was their intention to make competency and compellability co-extensive. Kauṭilya says, "parties shall themselves produce witnesses who are not far removed either by time or place; witnesses who are far removed either by time or place; witnesses who are very far or who will not stir out, shall be made to present themselves by the order of the judges."¹ The means to compel a witness to give evidence was to inflict punishment either corporal or in the shape of fines or to render him liable to a civil action for damages in case of his refusal to testify and consequent non-attendance. Thus Yājñavalkya tells us that "a man who knowing all does not give evidence should be punished like a false witness."² Again "if any person

¹ देशकालविदूरस्थान् साक्षिणः प्रतिपादयेत् ।

दूरस्थानप्रसारान् वा खानिवाक्येन साधयेत् ॥—Kan., III, 11, 63.

² न ददाति च यः साक्ष्यं जानन्नपि नराधमः ।

स ब्रूटसाक्षिणां पापैस्तुल्यो दण्डेन चैव हि ॥—Yaj., II, 79.

does not give evidence about a loan, he must be compelled by the king to pay all (both the capital and interest) on the forty-sixth day and the king shall take the tenth part of the money realised.”¹ A similar injunction is found in Manu and Brihaspati as well. According to them, a man who without being ill, does not give evidence in cases of loans and the like within three fortnights (after the summons) shall become responsible for the whole debt and pay a tenth part of the whole (as a fine to the king).² Brihaspati further tells us that when a man who has a family and relations does not appear before the court through pride after having been summoned, the king or the judge should inflict on him punishment corresponding to the nature of the accusation.³ We know from Kātyāyana also that if a witness does not give evidence he will have to pay the whole debt with a fine. In cases other than those of debt he will have to pay a fine of three hundred coins in case of his refusal to testify.⁴

Thus ‘the duty of citizens to appear and testify to such facts within their knowledge as may be necessary to the due administration of justice is one which has been recognised and enforced by the common law from an early period’ and every court having definite power to try cases had the inherent power to call for adequate proofs of the facts in controversy and to that end to summon and

¹ अत्रवन् हि नरः सात्यम् क्षणञ्च दशवन्धकम् ।

राज्ञा सर्वं प्रदास्यः स्वात् षट् चत्वारिंशकेऽहनि ॥—Yaj., II. 78.

² विप्रचानवन् सात्यवन्नादिषु नरो गदः ।

तद्वर्णं प्राप्नुयात् सधे दशवन्धं च सर्वतः ॥—Manu, VIII. 107.

आहतो यस्तु नागच्छेत् साक्षी रोगविवर्जितः ।

क्षणं दमं च दास्यः स्यात् विप्रचात् परतस्तु सः ॥—Brihaspati (Sm. Chandrikā, p. 212).

May, p. 8.

⁴ साक्षी सात्यं न चेद् ब्रूयात् स सदण्डं वह्निदण्डम् ।

अतोऽन्येषु विवादिषु त्रिशतं दण्डमर्हति ॥—Parāśara, p. 115.

compel the attendance of witnesses before it. Kautilya further tells us that the witnesses were entitled to their "reasonable costs and charges" and that these costs had to be paid by the defeated party.¹

INCOMPETENCY OF WITNESSES.

'The object of a trial in every case is to ascertain the truth in respect of the charge made' and it is evident that truthful witnesses alone can render the greatest help in this direction. We shall presently see that a large number of persons were considered unfit to give testimony in legal proceedings and the motives to prevent the truth are, in the words of two eminent jurists,² so much more numerous in judicial proceedings than in ordinary affairs of life, that the danger of injustice arising from this cause, has, till modern times been thought to justify the observance of rules by virtue of which large and numerous classes of persons were rendered incompetent witnesses and their testimony was uniformly excluded. We shall see that the Hindu law-givers were over-cautious in the matter of selecting competent witnesses. They excluded not only those who were known to be persons of bad character but also those who had the remotest chance of being untruthful on account of their peculiar position, occupation, status in society and some follies, supposed or real. There was another consideration too underlying the principle of exclusion. It is a known fact that the services of certain people holding eminent position in life cannot be procured without causing a

¹ पुरुषवृत्तिरष्टाङ्गः। पश्चिमतमर्थविशेषतः। तदुभयं नियम्यो दद्यात्—III, 1. 58.

"Fees for witness shall cover $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the amount. Provision proportional to the amount sued for may also be made for the expenses incurred by witnesses in their journey. The defeated party shall pay these two kinds of costs."

² Woodroffe and Ameer Ali, Law of Evidence, p. 807.

serious dislocation of their duties religious, political or otherwise. Such persons are naturally to be excluded from performing all kinds of civic duties. Ancient law-givers also could not do away with such considerations. Thus we shall see that the exclusionary rules in early days were mainly based upon two grounds—(1) an intention to guard against any misrepresentation of facts by securing witnesses of unimpeachable character and thus to do full justice to the parties and (2) privilege. The grounds of exclusion have been stated by Nārada to be fivefold¹:—(1) injunction or the text of the law, (2) crimes, *i.e.*, perjury and the like offences, (3) contradiction, *i.e.*, inconsistency between the statements made by different witnesses, (4) self-assertion, *i.e.*, non-appointment, and (5) intervening decease, *i.e.*, the death of either the complainant or the defendant. Thus the *śrotriyas*, the aged and the religious recluses have been excluded on the strength of injunctions from some higher and more remote authorities.² Both Nārada and Yājñavalkya simply say 'the ground for their exclusion has not been stated.' The second ground for exclusion is the detection of criminal disposition in the witnesses. This accounts for the rejection of thieves, murderers and all dangerous characters in whom truth does not exist.³ The third ground on which the

¹ असत्यपि हि शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् दृष्टः पञ्चविधो बुधैः ।

वचनादौषतो मेदात् स्वयसुक्ति र्मुतान्तरः ॥—Nārada, IV. 157.

Cf. दुष्टत्वात् प्रतिषिद्धत्वात् अकृतत्वादनिश्चयात् ।

एकाङ्गविकलत्वाच्च स्यादसाक्षापि पञ्चधा ॥

दुष्टत्वादसाक्षी स्तेनादिः, प्रतिषिद्धत्वात् श्रौत्रियादिः, अकृतत्वात् स्वयंभूः, अनिश्चयार् मिथो भिन्नगोः, एकाङ्ग विकलत्वात् सृतान्तर इत्यर्थः —Smṛti Chandrikā, p. 187.

² श्रौत्रियास्तापसा ब्रह्मा ये च प्रजिता नराः ।

असाक्षिणस्ते वचनान्नान्न हेतुरुदाहृतः ॥—Nar., IV. 158.

श्रौत्रियास्तापसा ब्रह्मा ये च प्रजितादयः ।

असाक्षिणस्ते वचनान्नान्न हेतुरुदाहृतः ॥—Yaj., II. 71.

³ स्तेनाः साहसिकाश्चण्डा कितवा वधकाश्च ये ।

असाक्षिणस्ते दुष्टत्वात् तेषु सत्यं न विद्यते ॥—Nar., IV. 159.

evidences of witnesses are to be rejected is the inconsistency between their statements.¹ The fourth ground for exclusion is self-assertion (*svayaṃukti*), i.e., non-appointment, and it has been discussed above. The fifth ground for exclusion is explained thus—a person cannot testify in the event of the party by whom he is called upon to depose being dead, mainly for the reason that it would be impossible to ascertain whether the statement of the witness is true or false and that there would be none to sue him for perjury if he gave false evidence.²

Devanabhaṭṭa emphatically remarks that the rules of exclusion should be observed where qualified witnesses can be had in abundance. But in the absence of such witnesses those who are *not excluded* by express injunctions, though they do not possess the requisite qualifications for a witness, can be allowed to depose.³ He relies for this opinion on the following injunction of Vyāsa—“No one who is not guilty of a crime can be debarred from acting as a witness.”⁴ The injunctions in favour of excluded persons, however, refer to criminal cases only where it is not possible to get qualified witnesses.⁵

¹ राज्ञा परिगृहीतेषु साक्षिण्येकार्थनिश्चये ।

वचनं यत्र भिद्येत ते स्युर्भेदादसाक्षिणः ॥—Nārada, IV. 160.

² योऽर्थः आवयितव्यः स्यात् तस्मिन्नसति चार्थिनि ।

क तद्वदतु साक्षिणमित्यसाक्षी सतान्तरः ॥—Nārada, IV. 162.

.....एतदीदृशं साक्षित्वमसौ साक्षी तस्मिन्न सति चार्थिनि सृते कस्यापि वदतु । तदा तस्मिन्न सति तं कृतसाध्यदातारं को दण्डयतु । अस्मान्मृतान्तरः साक्षी अप्रमाणः ।—Asahāya.

³ एवं च लक्षणावितसाक्षिणामलामे प्रतिषेधराहित्यमावशास्तिनां साक्षित्वं विहितमित्यनुसन्धेयम् ।
—Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 181.

⁴ न खल्वदोषदुष्टानां व्यभिचारीऽस्ति साक्षिणम् ।—Sm. Chandrikā, p. 181.

⁵तदेतत्सर्वं साहसाद्यस्थिरकर्तव्यविषयं तत्र प्रशस्तानां दुर्लभत्वात् ।—Sm. Chandrikā, p. 181.

The following is a list of the persons considered incompetent by different authorities to give evidence in courts :—

1. *Arthasambandhi*.¹—According to the *Mitāksharā* and *Smṛitichandrikā* the expression means, “Those who have an interest in the suit.”² In the opinion of Nandana the word means ‘men who have received benefits from one of the parties.’ But according to other commentators such as *Medhātithi*, *Kulluka* and *Rāghava* it means ‘connected by money,’ i.e., creditors and debtors of the parties.³ This explanation gets a clear support from *Kaṭīlya* in whose opinion *ghanika* (creditors) and *dhārānika* (debtors) cannot be admitted as witnesses.⁴ *Medhātithi* assigns the following reason for their incompetency—‘debtors are likely to give false evidence for fear of displeasing their creditors and the creditor may do so in the hope of getting his money back from the debtor in case the latter wins his case.’⁵

2. *Āpta*.⁶—This word means, according to *Medhātithi*, ‘close relations, such as maternal and paternal uncles.’⁷ According to the commentary on *Nārada* it means ‘born of the same family.’⁸ *Kātyāyana*⁹ gives a very comprehensive definition of the term. According to him it includes

¹ Manu., VIII. 64, Vis., VIII. 3, Yaj., II. 73, Nar., IV. 177, Vas., XVI. 3.

² विप्रतिपद्यमानार्थसम्बन्धी (*Mitāksharā*), विप्रतिमानार्थस्य सम्बन्धिनः—*Sm. Chandrikā*.

³ ऋणार्थसम्बन्धिनोऽधमर्णाद्याः—*Kulluka*.

उत्तमर्णाधमर्णाद्याः—*Medhātithi*.

⁴ Kau., III. 11, 63.

⁵ उत्तमर्णाह्यधमर्णवचनेन पराजीयमानास्तदानीमेव रोषाविश्वेक्षिताः स्तम्भयन्ति धनं प्रत्यादातुमधमर्णम् । अतोऽसौ सन्निहितधनत्वात् चित्तमनुवर्त्तमानः शक्यते, तस्मादसौ न साक्षी । उत्तमर्णाऽपि निर्धनेऽधमर्णे व्यवहारजयाच्च धनप्राप्ती मल्लमर्थं प्रतिदास्यतीत्यनया बुद्ध्या कदाचित् तत्पदानुगुणं वक्तुमीति सोऽप्यसाक्षी ।

⁶ Manu, VIII. 64, Nārada, IV. 177, Yaj., II. 73.

⁷ कार्यस्थितराः पित्र्यमातुलादयः ।

⁸ आतः स्वकुल्यथोच्यते ।

⁹ तद्वद्विजिविनी ये च तस्मैवाङ्कितकारिणः । तद्वन्तुः सुहृदो भृत्या आमास्तो न तु साक्षिणः ।

—*Sm. Chandrikā*, p. 177.

‘all those who live upon the money received from the party for whom he deposes, render services and do good to him, and those who are his friends, relations and servants.’ Mitāksharā takes it to mean ‘friends’¹ and Kulluka also does so.² In the opinion of Aparārka the word has the meaning of ‘one connected by learning or marriage.’³ We are rather inclined to connect this word with Vishṇu’s ‘*mitra*’⁴ and think that the explanation offered by the Mitāksharā and Kulluka is a correct one. Vishṇu’s ‘*mitra*,’ and ‘*bandhu*’ and ‘*āpta*’ of other legal treatises seem to connote the same thing. The reason why a friend cannot be called upon as a witness, even in urgent criminal cases where laxity of rules is allowable to a certain extent, is thus indicated by Nārada—‘a friend may speak untruth out of the affection he bears towards the party with whom he is in friendship.’⁵ Manu, however, is of opinion that on the failure of qualified witnesses a friend (*bandhu*) even may depose.⁶ This rule refers to all criminal cases according to Govindarāja and Kulluka but Nārāyaṇa thinks that it applies only to cases concerning loss of life.⁷

3. *Sahāya*.⁸—Medhātithi and Devanabhaṭṭa explain it as ‘sureties and the like’⁹ and Kulluka as ‘servants.’¹⁰ R. Sham Sastri translates the word occurring in Kautilya by ‘co-partner.’ We are bent upon taking this word in its natural sense, *viz.*: helper, accomplice, etc., and in doing so we are supported by the Mitāksharā and the commentary on Nārada according to which the word

¹ आसः सुहृत् । ² आसः मित्राणि । ³ आसो ब्राह्मण्यौनस्यन्वी ।

⁴ Vishṇu, VIII. 3.

⁵ विवृयाद् बान्धवः स्नेहात् ।—Nar., IV, 191.

⁶ Manu, VIII. 70.

⁷ अन्तर्वेश्मादी..... see verse 69 (Chap. VIII).

⁸ Manu, VIII. 64, VI. VIII. 3, Kau., III. 11, 63, Yaj. II. 73, Nar., IV. 173.

⁹ प्रतिभूयन्त्यः (Sm. Chandrikā, p. 177).

¹⁰ सहायास्तत्परिचारकाः ।

means 'those who are of the same acts'¹ and 'those who do a thing conjointly.'² "Now an accomplice is a person who is a guilty associate in crime or who sustains such a relation to the criminal act that he can be jointly indicted with the defendant." Thus his evidence in modern times is held untrustworthy for three reasons—(a) 'because an accomplice may swear falsely in order to shift the guilt from himself' (b) 'because an accomplice as a participator in crime and consequently an immoral person is likely to disregard the sanctity of an oath' and (c) 'because he gives his evidence under promise of a pardon or in the expectation of an implied pardon, if he discloses all he knows against those with whom he acted criminally and this hope would lead him to favour the prosecution.' These might have been the considerations that weighed with the Indian lawgivers of the past also to make rules against the admissibility of accomplices as competent witnesses.

In modern times though 'accomplices are not like ordinary witnesses in respect of credibility' and though there is an increasing tendency to insist that the evidence of an accomplice must be corroborated and thus 'the presumption that an accomplice is unworthy of credit unless corroborated in material particulars has become a rule of practice of almost universal application, yet 'an accomplice is a competent witness against an accused person and a conviction is not illegal merely because it proceeds upon the uncorroborated testimony of an accomplice.' Of course, 'the testimony of accomplices who are naturally interested and nearly always infamous witnesses is admitted from necessity, it being often impossible without having recourse to such

¹ एककार्याः ।

² एकार्यसम्भूतकारिणः ।

evidence to bring the principal offenders to justice.' This principle of necessity was fully recognised by ancient lawmakers of India and it was on this principle alone that they made rules against too strictly examining the competency of witnesses in urgent criminal suits.

4. *Ripu*.¹—An enemy is not a competent witness even in exceptional circumstances for the simple reason, as Nārada says, that he may give false evidence with a view to taking revenge on the party inimically disposed towards him.²

5. *Dṛiṣṭādōsha*.³—The word may mean, according to Medhātithi either 'those who have practised something prohibited'⁴ or 'who have been formerly convicted of perjury.'⁵ Kulluka supports the latter view⁶ and the commentary on Nārada also says nearly the same thing.⁷ Mitāksharā takes the word to mean 'those whose habit of speaking falsehood has been detected.'⁸ Kautilya uses the word *dhṛitadanda*⁹ which means 'those who have been punished by the government.' The word *dṛiṣṭādōsha* bears this additional sense also according to Medhātithi.¹⁰

6. *Vyadhyārta*.¹¹—Persons under severe illness, such as lepers (*kushṭhī*) and those suffering from bodily eruptions (*vraṇī*).¹² Such persons cannot be admitted as witnesses because, as Medhātithi and Kulluka say, 'men

¹ Nar., IV. 177, Manu, VIII. 64, Kau., III. 11, 63, Vis. VIII. 3, Yaj., II. 73.

² वैरिनिर्यातनादरिः ।—Nar., IV. 191.

³ Manu VIII. 64, Vis. VIII. 3, Yaj., II. 73, Nar., II. 177.

⁴ अन्यद्वा प्रतिषिद्धसाचरितवन्तः ।

⁵ अन्यव कृतकौटसात्याः ।

⁶ स्थानान्तरावगतकौटसात्याः ।

⁷ दृष्टदोषस्तु अन्यकार्येषु कूटसाचिन्वादिना चायते ।

⁸ दृष्टवितथवचनः । ⁹ Kau., III. 11, 63.

¹⁰ दृष्टदोषग्रहणन्तु तेषामिव कृतनियमहाणां परिग्रहार्थम् ।

¹¹ Manu VIII. 64, Nar., IV. 177.

¹² Kau., III. 11, 63.

afflicted with serious illness are liable to become angry or to forget facts and thus to make false statements.'¹ The modern practice is to interrogate the witness before swearing him or to elicit the facts upon the examination-in-chief when, if his incompetency appears, he will be rejected and such a witness is thought incompetent only when he is in such extreme pain as to be unable to understand or to answer questions, or is unconscious as if in a fainting fit, catalepsy or like.'

7. *Dūshita*.²—The word used by Nārada is *prati-dūshita*.³ Both these words mean 'tainted by mortal crimes or numerous smaller offences' according to Medhātithi, Kulluka and Rāghava.⁴ In the opinion of the commentators Nārāyaṇa and Nandana *dūshita* is the same as '*abhiśasta*' of Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya.⁵ The word *abhiśasta* means according to the Mitāksharā 'accused of murdering Brāhmaṇas and like offences.'⁶ Julius Jolly translates it by 'a man of bad fame.'

8. *Śiṣu*.⁷—An infant or a minor under sixteen years of age.⁸ He cannot be a witness because he is legally unfit to carry on any transaction.⁹ It is to be noted here that the word actually used by Kautilya in the enumeration of persons incompetent to testify is *avyavahārya*.¹⁰ It is difficult indeed to understand why one can be thought disqualified to act as a witness on the ground of his incompetency to contract. The real reason for

¹ पीडितस्य हि क्रोध विस्मयादयो मिथ्यावचनता सम्भाव्यते ।—(Medh.)

लोभरागद्वेषस्सतिष'शादीनामन्यथाभिधानहेतुना सम्भवात् । (Kull.)

² Manu, VIII. 64.

³ Nar., IV, 177.

⁴ दूषिताः पातकिनोऽन्यन्तोपपातकाश्च । महापातकादिदूषिताः ।

⁵ Viṣṇu, III. 2, Yaj., II. 72.

⁶ अभियुक्ती ब्रह्महत्यादिना ।

⁷ Manu, VIII. 66, Vis., III. 1, Yaj., II. 72, Nar., IV, 178.

⁸ शिशुरपूर्वषोडशवर्षः—(Smpiti Chandrikā, p. 178.)

⁹ शिशुर्बालोऽप्राप्तव्यवहारः (Medh.) बालोऽप्राप्तव्यवहारात् (Kull.).

¹⁰ Kau., III. 11, 63.

excluding a minor is perhaps his undeveloped powers to understand and answer questions. This view is supported by Nārada according to whom a *bāla* cannot even in extreme circumstances¹ be a witness on account of his ignorance.² Devanabhatta also suggests that ignorance leads to untruthfulness and that is why a minor should be excluded.³

In modern days understanding is the sole test of competency and a person, though of tender years, is fully competent to testify and the court has only to ascertain in the best way it can 'whether from the extent of his intellectual capacity and understanding he is able to give a rational account of what he has seen or heard or done on a particular occasion.'

9. *Vṛiddha*.⁴—A man of extremely advanced age (*atīvṛiddha*⁵ according to Viṣṇu) is disqualified as a witness, as his memory is naturally weak and may fail him too often.⁶ According to the Mitāksharā the term *vṛiddha* signifies 'a person at least 50 years old'⁷ and according to Aparārkaabhāṣya 'one above 70 years of age.'⁸ In modern times an aged man just like a minor is a competent witness provided that he is not prevented by his old age from understanding and answering the questions that might be put to him by the court.

10. *Unmatta*.⁹—A lunatic is incompetent to testify because of the disordered state of his mind. The modern

¹ Enumerated by Manu in VIII. 70.

² बालोऽज्ञानात्—Nār., IV. 191.

³ व्यक्ताद्यतद्देतुशालिनो बालादयो वर्ज्याः ।—(Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 182.)

⁴ Manu, VIII. 66, Yaj., II. 71, Nār., IV. 178.

⁵ Viṣṇu, VIII. 1.

⁶ वृद्धो वयःपरिणामादसंस्मृतिः (Medh.). प्रायेण स्मृतिवशसम्भवात् (Kull.). वृद्धो जरावशेन खलितबुद्धिः—(Sm. Chandrikā, p. 178).

⁷ वृद्धोऽशीतिकावरः ।

⁸ वृद्धः समतिमतिक्रांतः—Cf. आशोडशाद् भवेद्बालो यावत्क्षीरप्रवर्तकः ।

सध्यसः समतिं यावत् तत्परं वृद्ध उच्यते ॥

⁹ Manu, VIII. 67, Vis., VIII. 1, Yaj., II. 72, Nār., IV. 178, Kau., III. 11, 63.

legislation holds that the disability is only co-extensive with the cause and therefore when the cause is removed, the disability also ceases and thus a lunatic in his lucid intervals may be examined as a witness.

11. *Matta*.¹—An intoxicated person is incompetent to testify, perhaps, on the ground that he is the least sober and thus cannot be expected to rationally answer the questions that might be asked him in course of his examination. The modern legislation considers him competent during the interval in which sobriety returns to him.

12. *Kārūka*.²—Artisans are thought unfit to act as witness from a desire on the part of the state to avoid interference with their ordinary avocations.³ This is the opinion of Medhātithi and Kulluka. Kautilya further tells us that artisans are men of impure character⁴ and this notion also might be the reason for their exclusion.

13. *Vikalendriya*.⁵—One deficient in organs of sense. Thus Kautilya lays down quite explicitly that the blind, the deaf and the dumb shall not be taken as witnesses.⁶ Such persons are incompetent, as Medhātithi and Kulluka suggest,⁷ on account of their inability to grasp things properly. This certainly points to a time when unscientific ideas prevailed and the deaf and the dumb were so far treated as idiots that they were presumed to be incapable of testifying. Now-a-days the case is quite different in-as-much as 'a witness who is unable to speak may give his

¹ Manu, VIII. 67, Vis., VIII. 1, Yaj., II. 72, Nār., IV. 178.

² Manu, VIII. 65.

³ कारुकादीनां स्वकर्मापरोक्षशङ्का न साक्षित्वम् (Medh.) स्वकर्मव्यत्यलप्रायेण (तेषाम्) असाक्षित्वम्—(Kull.).

⁴ अशुचयो हि कारव—Kau., III. 12, 64.

⁵ Manu, VIII. 66, Yaj., II. 72.

⁶ Kau., III. 11, 63.

⁷ शरीरपीड्योपलब्धिविकलत्वात् (Medh.).

विकलेन्द्रिय उपलब्धिवैकल्यान् साक्षी (Kull.).

evidence in any other manner in which he can make it intelligible, as by writing or by signs,' and a deaf-mute also is taught to give evidence by signs which must be translated by an interpreter.

14. *Nripati*.¹—The king is not to be a witness because he is the lord of all and as such incapable of being questioned and examined.² Devanabhatta remarks that 'as the king has to attend to diverse duties, he is not to be a witness.'³ It is the king who decides all lawsuits either personally or through judges.⁴ He by his pre-eminent position and in his capacity as a trying magistrate is beyond the approach of ordinary individuals and it is therefore not natural on the part either of the complainant or the defendant to call him as a witness. But as in modern times 'a judge is a competent witness and can give evidence in cases being tried before himself provided that he has no personal or pecuniary interest in the subject of the charge, and he is not precluded thereby from dealing judicially with the evidence of which his own forms a part,' so in ancient times also the king sometimes waived his privilege and acted as a witness in cases about which he had a personal knowledge⁵ (*e.g.*, when an offence or contempt was committed in his presence and when he himself heard the speeches of the plaintiff and the defendant) and which were found difficult to be decided on account of the scantiness of other kinds

¹ Manu, VIII. 65, Vis., VIII. 1, Kau., III. 11. 63, Vas., XVI. 13. (The word actually used by Vas., is *rājanya* which generally means 'a member of the royal family.' But from the parallel passages of other Dharmasūtras it seems probable that the King is meant by this term.)

² न च राजा साक्षिधर्मेण प्रदुष्यते (Medh.).

प्रभुत्वात् साक्षिधर्मेण प्रदुष्यतीत्यत्र राजा साक्षी कार्यः (Kull.).

³ वृपतिः बहुव्यापारव्याकुलत्वात् प्रतिषिध्यते—(Sm. Chandrikā, p. 178).

⁴ Manu, VIII. 1-10.

⁵ राज्ञः पुरतो वृत्तस्य राजा साक्षी—(Asahāya on Nār., IV. 151).

of evidence at hand. That it was the accepted view is clear from the fact that he is mentioned as one of the *akṛita* witnesses. This undoubtedly proves also that the difference that exists between incompetency and privilege was observed in ancient times as well. An incompetent witness could not be examined as a general rule but a privileged witness was allowed to depose and his testimony was legal if the privilege was not insisted upon. Kauṭilya insists, however, that the King can never be a witness, not even in cases about which he only possesses a personal knowledge.¹

15. *Rājapurusha*.²—A *rājapurusha* or Government servant has not been rejected by Manu, Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya but by Kauṭilya, Nārada and Kātyāyana. Regarding a *rājapurusha* and his incompetency Kātyāyana says the following:—"Those who are posted by the the King in villages, towns, and countries or in high offices or are dear to him, are styled *rājapurushas*, they should not be asked any question as witnesses because they are always devoted to the King."³ The commentator of Nārada explains the word simply by *sevaka*, i.e., an ordinary servant of the King. Bodhāyana⁴ declares that serving the king constitutes a great guilt. A servant, as a general rule is incompetent to testify according to Manu. This we gather from verse 70, Chap. VIII. Viṣṇu does not explicitly say anything about Government servants but excludes all who are not their own masters.⁵ Kauṭilya holds the Government servants always in suspicion and devotes a whole chapter⁶ to the 'examination of Government

¹ रहस्यं व्यवहारिषु...राजवापस वर्जम्—Kau., III. 11. 63.

² Nār. IV. 185, Kan., III. 11. 63.

³ नगर ग्रामदेशेषु नियुक्ता ये पदेषु च ।

वल्लभाश्च न वृक्षेयुर्भक्तास्ते राजपुरुषाः ॥—(Aparārka on Yaj., II. 71).

⁴ Bodhāyana, III. 6, 5.

⁵ Viṣṇu, VIII. 2.

⁶ II, 27.

servants.' There it is said, "it is possible to mark the movements of birds flying high up in the sky ; but not so is it possible to ascertain the movements of Government servants of hidden purpose."¹ The term *rājapurusha* after all is of doubtful connotation. It is practically certain, however, that it does not include all officers in service of the state but probably those in the lower grades of the departments mainly connected with revenue such as the *yuktas*, *upayuktas*, *bhritakas*, etc., about the examination of whose conduct mainly Kautīlya says so much and who were generally greedy.

16. *Śrotriya*.²—*Śrotriyas* have been excluded by Manu, Viṣṇu, Yājñavalkya, Kautīlya and Nārada. Vaśiṣṭha, Kātyāyana and Vyāsa are in their favour.³ Kulluka suggests that they are always busy with their studies and performance of sacrifices and so it is not proper to disturb them by calling them to courts.⁴ Medhātithi very emphatically says that the prohibitory injunction does not insinuate anything against their credibility ; they are perfectly honest and reliable and so their evidence has rather the force of establishing any fact to which they may speak.⁵ Raghunandana makes the point more clear. He says—"the King and the Judges may not ask the *śrotriyas* any question for fear of being cursed on account of appointing them to do such a trifling thing as giving evidence and moreover they are always busy with their sacrifices

¹ अपि शक्या गतिर्जातुं पततां खे पतविषाम् ।

न तु प्रच्छन्नभावानां युक्तानां चरतां गतिः ॥

² Manu, VIII. 65, Vis., VIII. 2, Yaj., II. 71, Kau., III. 11. 63, Nār., IV. 158.

³ Vas., XVI ; उभौ तु श्रोत्रियो शास्त्रौ etc. ...Kātyāyana.

श्रोत्रिया न पराधीनाः सूरयथाप्रवासिनः ।

युवानः सान्निः कार्या कृणादिषु विज्ञानतः ॥—

(Mitāksharā and Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 174.)

⁴ श्रोत्रियोऽध्ययनादिहोवादि कर्मस्थयतया न सान्निः (Kull.)

⁵ श्रोत्रियस्य तु सान्निः कर्तव्यता प्रतिदिष्यते राजवन्न पुनरप्रत्ययितता । न हि श्रोत्रियत्वं प्रामाण्यं विह्वलि जनयत्येव विशेषतः ।

and Vedic studies and thus may forget things in connection with other people. So no useful purpose can be served by calling them as witnesses. But if they of their own accord agree to give evidence, they are always welcome to do so.”¹ Thus, in his opinion, the *śrotriyas*, like the King, were privileged persons and their evidence was admitted if the privilege was not insisted upon. We may accept the views of Vaśiṣṭha, Kātyāyana and Vyāsa in this light. Devanabhaṭṭa explains, however, the word *śrotriya* as used by these authorities, as merely ‘a reciter of hymns.’² The *śrotriyas* excluded by different authorities, according to him, are ‘those who are always engaged in their sacrificial duties and thus dead to the worldly concerns.’³ Their exclusion seems to lie in their entire renunciation of earthly interests which make them disqualified to appear as witnesses in a Court of Justice.

17. *Strī*.⁴—Women are not eligible to give evidence, says Manu, on account of their wavering mind.⁵ Devanabhaṭṭa also sees in the masculine gender in which are used the words *grihiṇah*, *putriṇah*, etc., a prohibition against women to be witnesses.⁶ Nārada uses actually the word *puruṣa* and distinctly states that the disqualification of women as witnesses is based upon the ground of their natural disregard for truth.⁷ The exclusion of women would appear contradictory to such injunctions

¹ स्त्रीयवैदिककर्मकरणव्ययतया परकीये कार्ये विस्मरणसम्भवात् साक्षित्वलघुकार्येनियोगे तच्छापमयेन व्यवहारद्रष्टारोऽपि तान्नृच्छन्तीति वत्सात्यकरणानर्थक्याच्च न ते साक्षिणः कर्तव्याः। किन्तु अङ्गताः स्वयं साक्षिणो भवन्त्येव।

² श्रोत्रियाः श्रुतिपाठकाः, एवमुक्तविधा न जातु कूटतां प्रतिपद्यन्ते—(Sm. Ch., p. 174).

³ श्रोत्रियोऽत्र कर्मानुष्ठाननिष्ठो विवक्षितः। न पुनः श्रुतिपाठकस्तत्र साक्षित्वेनोक्तत्वात्—(Sm. p. 178).

⁴ Manu, VIII. 77, Vishnu, VIII. 2, Yaj., II. 72, Kau., III. 11, 63, Nār., IV. 178.

⁵ स्त्रीबुद्धेरस्थिरत्वात्—(Manu, VIII. 77.)

⁶ गृहिण्य इत्यादिषु पुल्लिङ्गनिर्देशो विवक्षित उपादियमतत्वात्।

⁷ असत्त्वात् स्त्री...—Nār. IV. 191.

as 'women should give evidence for women'¹ and 'on failure of qualified witnesses evidence may be given by a woman.'² Medhātithi notes it and says 'there is no inconsistency inasmuch as these injunctions refer to cases where evidence is taken from women just after the occurrence, so that they have hardly any time to change their mind and invent stories.'³ The general notions about women in ancient India were against any trust being placed in them in regard to legal matters, they being thought wanting in veracity and firmness of purpose. These notions are embodied in ancient cosmological speculations and the views of the lawgivers were considerably influenced thereby as will be evident from the following extracts from Manu and Vāśiṣṭha—(1) 'when creating them, Manu⁴ allotted to women a love of their bed, of their seat and of ornament, impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice and bad conduct' and (2) 'women are the very embodiment of falsehood.'⁵

18. *Adhyadhīna and Dasyu*.⁶—An explanation of these words can be given in the light of Manu's Verse 70 (Ch. VIII) where it is laid down—"on failure of qualified witnesses evidence may be given in urgent criminal suits by a woman, by an infant, by an aged man, by a pupil, by a relative, by a *dāsa* (slave) and by a *bhṛitaka*" (hired servant). These persons who cannot testify under ordinary circumstances are permitted to do so when special

¹ Manu, VIII. 68, Vas., XVI.

² Manu, VIII. 70.

³ यत्तु स्त्रियोऽप्यसम्भवे कार्या इति तद् यत् तत्क्षणादेव पुच्छन्ते, यत्नेयमाशङ्का न भवति केनचिदासां चक्षितं मन इति। यत् तु कालव्यवधानं तव जीयमानेन कदाचिदनुकूलासा इति न कचित् साक्षिणः।

⁴ शय्यासनमलङ्कारं कामं क्रीधमनार्जवम्।

द्रोहभावं कुचर्यां च स्त्रीभ्योमनुरकल्पयत् ॥—Manu, IX. 17.

⁵ स्त्रियोऽदृष्टमिति विज्ञायते।—Vas., V.

स्त्रियोऽदृष्टमिति स्थितिः।—Manu, IX. 18.

⁶ Manu, VIII. 66.

cases arise,—this is the purport of the verse. Thus all of them, it is to be understood, are ordinarily excluded persons. Now nowhere in *Manu* have *dāsa* and *bhṛitaka* been declared disqualified: the persons excluded are *adhyadhīna* and *dasyu*. So it is only reasonable to suppose that *adhyadhīna* and *dasyu* are the same as *dāsa* and *bhṛitaka*. At least this is the opinion of *Medhātithi* who explains these four terms, viz., *adhyadhīna*, *dāsa*, *dasyu* and *bhṛitaka* as follows:—*adhyadhīnah garbhadāsah*¹; *dāsah garbhadāsah*; *dasyuh bhṛitadāsah vaitanikah*; *bhṛitakah vaitanikah*. We are informed by *Macdonell* and *Keith*, that *dasyu* and *dāsa* have been used in the *Rigveda* in the sense of both ‘aborigines independent of Aryan control’ and ‘subjugated slaves’² and it is interesting to see that the commentator *Nandana* takes the word *dasyu* to mean ‘a low caste man’ which is allied to the former meaning. *Bühler* also is inclined to take the word in this sense and remarks that the term denotes properly the aboriginal robber tribes and includes all those resembling them. According to *Nārada dāsa*³ (a slave by birth) and *ātmarikretā*⁴ (self-sold, i.e., one, who has become a slave himself for money) are among the persons disqualified as witnesses and the word *dasyu* is not used by him. The word used by *Vishṇu* is *parādhīna*,⁵ i.e., one not his own master. This term is a wide one in significance and comprises the meanings of the pairs of words used by *Manu* and *Nārada*. The reason why men wholly dependent on others cannot give evidence has been suggested by *Medhātithi* as follows:—It is not possible for them to displease their masters, for in that case a calamity might befall them in respect of their service and thus they might be deprived of their means of

¹ Cf. *Viram.*, p. 126—अध्याधीनी दासः अधिकमधीन इति व्युत्पत्तिः ।

² *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, 388.

³ *Nār.*, IV. 178.

⁴ *Nār.*, IV. 183.

⁵ *Vis.*, VIII. 2.

subsistence. Moreover, they are people earning very low wages and of low mode of living and thus it is quite natural for them to give way to greed and so they are unfit to be trusted.¹

19. *Grāmabhṛta*.²—A *grāmabhṛta* depended for his maintenance on the villagers. He like a *grāmayājaka*, (a village priest) who conducted the religious ceremonies of all classes of people in the village was much looked down upon in society. Nārada tells us that the *grāmayājakas* were equally incompetent to give testimony in courts.³ We further know from another authority that *grāmayājakas* constituted the fourth and *grāmabhṛtas* the fifth class of degraded Brāhmaṇas.⁴ The reason for their exclusion from the category of witnesses is obvious. They derived their livelihood from each and every villager and thus it was not in their power to displease any body. So they were naturally men of very weak principles and thus not reliable at all.

Others incompetent to testify according to different authorities are:—

Ayājayājaka.—A priest conducting the religious observances of those not competent to offer sacrifices.

Agnityāgi.—One who has discontinued keeping the sacrificial fires.

Prātya.—A man of the first three classes who has lost his caste owing to the non-performance of the principal *samskāras*.

¹ कर्मजीवनलापसौ तथाविधानां जीविकोच्छेदः, लघुष्ठतिलाच्च कोभादिसम्भवेनाप्रत्ययिततापि ।

² Kau., III. 11. 63.

³ Nār., IV. 178.

⁴ अन्नान्नान्नास्तु षट् प्रोक्ता ऋषिणा तत्त्ववेदिना ।

आद्यो राजभृतस्तेषां द्वितीयः क्रयविप्रायी ॥

तृतीयो बहुयान्यः स्वात् चतुर्थो ग्रामयाजकः ।

पञ्चमस्तु भृतस्तेषां ग्रामस्थ नगरस्थ च ॥

अनादित्यान्तु यः पूर्वां सादित्याञ्चैव पश्चिमां ॥

नोपासीत द्विजः सन्ध्यां स षडोऽन्नान्नान्नः स्मृतः ॥

Attributed to Sātātapa by the author of the Śabdakalpadruma

Āchārahina.—One who has renounced all customary observances.

Nāstika.—An unbeliever, an atheist.

Āśrāddha.—One not performing the *śrāddha* ceremony or not entitled to it. It may mean also one not admitted to *śrāddha*, i.e., one not allowed to partake of obsequial feasts, i.e., a Brāhmaṇa of low order and deeds.

Pravrajita.—A religious mendicant.

*Śrānta.*¹—(*nissangah*—according to the commentary of Asahaya; *sangebhyo vinirgatah*—Manu) an ascetic who has relinquished all worldly concerns.

Asamāvṛtta.—A *Brahmachārī* who has not returned home after finishing his holy study.

*Paupika.*²—A seller of soup or broth.

Bhinnavṛtta.—One holding heretic doctrines.

Pratyavasita.—A religious mendicant who has renounced his order.

Dāratyāgī.—One who has forsaken his wife.

Kṛiva.—A eunuch.

Naikṛitika.—An impostor.³

Chākrika.—One always busy with fraudulent devices. It may also mean an 'oil-maker.'⁴

Kitava.—A veritable rogue or a gamester.

Mahāpathika.—One engaged in a long journey.

Sāvudravanik.—A merchant who travels into transmarine countries.

Śaṭha.—A knave or a swindler.

Kūṭakāraka.—One who forges a document.

¹ श्रान्तः श्येनः (Parāśara, 99).

² पक्षविक्रेता (Aparārka.), सूपादिविक्रयो (Aparārka, p. 669).

³ पररन्ध्रास्त्रेषणशीलः (Parāśara) कृत्रिकः (Aparārka, p. 663).

⁴ कुलालः (Aparārka). According to Parāśara *Dharmasamhitā* it means कालिक; meaning perhaps 'conjurer or a votary of *Vetālā*.'

Kuhaka.¹—A conjurer or a quack, *i.e.*, one who practises incantations and the like with mysterious formulas and medicines.

Aindrajālaka.—A magician.

Vaktavya.—A man of bad fame.²

Vikarmakṛit.—One who follows a forbidden occupation.

Taskara.—A thief.

Antyāvasāyī.—An outcast, *i.e.*, a member of the lowest castes.³

Antya.—A man of the lowest caste.

Svadharmachyuta kulika.—A man of high birth who has abandoned his religious principles; or this may be divided into two terms:—(1) one who neglects his duties and (2) a *kulika*, *i.e.*, a judge or the head of a caste or guild.

Ārtta (*Vyasanī*).—One addicted to vicious practices.

Aupapātika.—One who has committed an *upapātaka*.

Patita.—One degraded in society.

Vārdhushikadvija.—A Brāhmaṇa usurer.

Manushyapaśumānsāsthimadhukshīrāmbughṛitavikretā Brāhmaṇa.—A Brāhmaṇa who sells ghee, water, milk, honey and the flesh and bones of men and beasts.

Tailika.—An oil grinder or oil manufacturer.⁴

Mūlika.—One who buys and sells roots or one who practises incantations with roots.

Śaundika.—A distiller or seller of spirituous liquor.

Vishajīvī.—One who deals in or lives by poison.⁵

Garada.—One who administers poison to another with a view to kill him.

Āhitundika.—A juggler.

¹ दाम्भिकः (Parāśara). ² कुष्ठादिना कुस्मितदेहः (Smṛiti Chandrikā) ³ प्रतिबोमजः (Aparāka).

⁴ तिलाघाती Parāśara Dharmasamhitā.

विषस्य संग्रहचक्रादिव्यापारि नियुक्तः (Par., p. 79).

Agnida.—One who sets fire to a house : an incendiary.¹

Bhūtāviṣṭa.—One possessed by a demon.

Nṛipadvīṣṭa.—One hated or disliked by the King.

Varṣanakṣatra sūchaka.—A bad astrologer. Viramītrodaya divides it into two terms :—(1) one who prophesies rain, *i.e.*, a weather-prophet and (2) an astronomer, *i.e.*, an astrologer.²

Kīnāsa.—A niggardly person, or it may mean a ploughman.³

Lubdha.—A fowler.

Ugra.—One born of a Kshatriya father and Śūdra mother and whose business is to catch or kill animals dwelling in holes such as snakes.⁴

Śūdrāputra.—The son of a Śūdra woman, father's name and caste being unknown.

Charmakṛit.—A shoe-maker or one born of a *chandāla* woman as mother and fisherman as father.

Vadhaka.—One who takes animal life, *i.e.*, a butcher.

Sāhasika.—One who has committed *sāhasa* (a heinous crime), a desperado.

Kruddha.—A wrathful man.

Mitrādhrūk.—One who rebels or plots against his friend.

Pramatta.—A blundering fellow.

Chara.—A spy.

Ātmavikretā.—One self-sold, *i.e.*, one who has entered the state of slavery for money.

Stāvaka.—A professional panegyrist.

Hinasevaka.—One who serves a base or a mean person.

Pitrā vivadamāna.—One who quarrels with his father.

¹ गृहदाहादिकर्ता (Par. p., 99).

² वर्षनक्षत्र सूचकः सांवत्सरसूचकः Asahāya. वर्षसूचकः इष्टिसूचकः, नक्षत्रसूचकः ज्योतिषः Parāśara, Smṛiti Chandrikā, and Viramītrodaya).

³ कृपणः (Parāśara) दालिकः (Aparārka).

⁴ Mann X. 9, 13 and 15.

Śrenīganavirodhī.—One who goes against his tribe and guild.

Bhedakṛit.—One whose business is to cause dissension, i.e., one who causes friends and others to fall out with one another.

Klānta.—A fatigued person.

Nirdhanā.¹—An indigent man. One who has lost his whole wealth through gambling or other extravagances.

Jaḍa.—A dull-witted or senseless fellow.

Aghaśamsī.²—A man reporting or telling other's sin or guilt, i.e., a malicious person making public the failings of other people.

Bhagavṛitti (*kāmārtta* or *rāgāndha*).—Parāśara Dharmasamhitā and Smṛiti-chandrikā explain this term as 'one who lives by the prostitution of his wife.'³ In Asahāya's opinion it may mean also 'one who suffers his mouth to be used like a female part.'⁴

Kunakhī.—One having bad nails.

Syāmadanta.—One having black teeth.

Kshuttrishṇopapīḍita.—One tormented by hunger and thirst.

Jñāti.—An agnate.

Sanābhi.⁵—A uterine brother, or a near relative.

Ekasthālī sahāya.⁶—An associate who eats from the same dish, i.e., one with whom one keeps up commensality.

Kusīlava (*ramgāvatāri*).—An actor or dancer.⁷

¹ द्यूतादिव्यसनदोषाद् हृतसर्वस्वः Smṛiti Chandrikā.

² परदोषप्रकाशकः (Par.)

³ स्वद्वन्द्वे भार्याविश्यालकारौ (Parāśara, Smṛiti Chandrikā and Aparārkkabhāṣya).

⁴ स्त्रीजीवनः सुखमगो वा ।

⁵ मातुः स्वसुः सुताश्चैव सोदर्यसुतमातुलाः ।

एते सनाभयस्तुक्ताः साह्यं तेषु न योजयेत् ॥

एका पाकसाधनस्थाली यस्य or पाकस्थाली भोजनस्थानम्, एकं भोजनस्थानं यस्य (Par.)

अर्थप्रवणत्वात् प्रतिषेधः Smṛiti Chandrikā.

Sailusha.—A musician.

Syāla.—A wife's brother.

Ābaddha.—A prisoner.

Ahamvādi.—An egoistic person.

Nirdhūta.—A man deserted by his relatives and friends.

Sūchaka.—A spy who declares the faults of others.¹

It must be admitted that these exclusionary rules are highly artificial and can hardly be justified in actual practice. A strict observance of such rules certainly leads to the necessity of increasing the 'media of investigation' and hampers justice to a great extent. "The tendency of modern legislation therefore has been rather to allow a witness to make his statement, leaving its truth to be ascertained by the tribunal than to reject his testimony altogether. Competency thus becomes the rule and incompetency the exception; and incompetency is reduced within a narrow compass. Proceeding on this principle, the Evidence Act declares all persons to be competent witnesses except such as are wanting in intellectual capacity. Granted this capacity all persons become admissible as witnesses, it being left to the court to attach to their evidence that amount of credence which it appears to deserve from their demeanour, deportment under cross examination, motives to speak or hide the truth, means of knowledge, powers of memory and other tests by which the value of their statements can be ascertained if not with absolute certainty, yet with such a reasonable amount of conviction as ought to justify a man of ordinary prudence in acting upon those statements. Thus the question of competency has now been converted into one of credibility and neither want of religion nor physical defect not involving intellectual incapacity nor

¹ परदोषसूचनार्थं राज्ञा नियुक्तः (Parāśara).

interest arising from the fact that a witness is a party to the record, or wife or husband of such party or otherwise, nor the fact that the witness is an accomplice in the commission of a crime form any ground for the exclusion of testimony."

BURDEN OF PROOF.

The general rules as to the burden of proof and consequent obligation of beginning are embodied in the following verses of Vyāsa and Nārada quoted by the Mitāksharā :—

प्राङ्म्याये कारणोक्तौ तु प्रत्यर्थी साधयेत् क्रियाम् ।

मिथ्योत्तरे पूर्ववादी प्रतिपत्तौ न सा भवेत् ॥ (Vyasa.)

अभियुक्तोऽभियोगस्य यदि कुर्यादपङ्गवम् ।

अभियोक्ता दिग्दिशं प्रत्यवस्कन्दितो न चेत् ॥ (Nārada.)

These verses tell us that when the defendant submits a *mithyottara*,¹ i.e., a reply in which he totally denies the allegation made against him, then the burden of proof is on the plaintiff. This is the opinion of the Mitākshara from which the following lines are quoted for ready reference :

अर्थी नाम साध्यस्यार्थस्य निर्देष्टा । तत्प्रतिपक्षः तदभाववादी प्रत्यर्थी । तत्राभावस्य भावसिद्धिसापेक्षसिद्धित्वाद् भावस्य च अभाव निरपेक्षसिद्धित्वाद् भावस्यैव साध्यत्वं युक्तम् । अभावस्य स्वरूपेण साच्यादिप्रमेयत्वाभावात् । अतश्चार्थिन एव क्रिया युक्ता ।²

"An *arthi* is one who alleges a certain fact. The adverse party denying the allegation is *pra yarthi*. The

¹ अभियुक्तोऽभियोगस्य यदि कुर्यादपङ्गवम् ।

मिथ्या तत्तु विज्ञानीयादुत्तरं व्यवहारतः ॥—Kātyāyana quoted by the Mitāksharā.

शतं सच्च धारयतीत्युक्ते नाहं धारयामीति । मिथ्योत्तरे पूर्ववादी साध्यवान् । कारणप्राङ्म्याययोस्तु उत्तरवादीव साध्यवान् ।

यस्य साध्यवत्ता तस्यैव साधनोपन्यासः ।

(Vyavahārabālabhāṭṭi on the Mitāksharā of II. 17.)

² Mitāksharā on verse 80 (Ch. II of Yajñavalkya).

issue is to be proved by the *arthī* because he states an affirmative and not by the *pratyarthī* simply on the ground that he states a negative. Because the proof of a negative depends upon the presupposition of its corresponding affirmative and to prove an affirmative does not require its corresponding negative to be proved as existing. Witnesses and other means of proof cannot establish a negative and thus a negative is incapable of proof. Therefore the *arthī* (one who states an affirmative) is the party on whom the burden of proof lies."

But when, in the words of Yājñavalkya, the *purvapakṣa* is *adharibhūta*,¹ i.e., when the plaintiff's party is worsted through the submission of a *prāñnyāya* reply by the defendant, that is to say, when he states in his reply that the plaintiff brought against him the same case and was defeated in a former trial;² or through the submission of a *kāraṇa* or *pratyavaskandana* reply, i.e., 'when instead of denying the allegation against him the defendant admits the charge but contends that there are some additional facts for which the plaintiff is not entitled to the relief he seeks' or in other words, 'relies on something which is an answer to the allegation made by the plaintiff,'³ then the defendant incurs the duty of beginning.

When there are two affirmatives stated by two persons, as for example, in the case of a property which each of them alleges he has inherited, then the party from whom the plaint has come first (*yasya purvavādah*) will have to begin and introduce all the evidence necessary to support

¹ Yaj., II. 17.

² i.e., when he rests on the plea of *res judicata*;

आचारिणावसन्नीऽपि पुनर्लेखयति यदि । सोऽभिधेयः जितः पूर्वं प्राङ्ख्यायस्तु स उच्यते ॥
यन्नाभियुक्त एव ब्रूयादस्मिन्नर्थे अनेनाहमभियुक्तस्तत्र चार्थं व्यवहारमार्गेण पराजित इति ।

³ अर्थिना लेखितो योऽर्थः प्रत्यक्षी यदि तं तथा ।

प्रपद्य कारणं ब्रूयात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं श्रुतम् ॥ (Nārada.)

रूपकशते मन्त्रं धारयतीत्युक्ते सत्यं गृहीते प्रतिदत्तम् ।

the substance of the issue. This is the view of some commentators¹ based on the following injunctions of Yājñia-vaikya, Nārada and Viṣṇu :—

साक्षिप्रभयतः सत्सु साक्षिणः पूर्ववादिनः ।²

द्वयोर्विवदमानयोर्यस्य पूर्ववादस्तस्य साक्षिणः प्रष्टव्याः ।³

द्वयोर्विवदतोरर्थे द्वयोः सत्सु च साक्षिषु ।

पूर्ववादो भवेद् यस्य भवेद्युक्तस्य साक्षिणः ॥⁴

The commentator Asabhāya illustrates this rule by a very simple example⁵ :—“Supposing a claimant declares—‘the bull that stands by your side is mine. He is the third in my possession. He was stolen by thieves together with seven cows of mine. If they are among your property, I shall identify them by red marks on the forehead, by their tails, white feet and other signs. I shall adduce also four witnesses to prove that they are mine.’ Hearing this the defendant replies—‘the creator has created many bipeds and quadrupeds which closely resemble each other. If likeness is sufficient to establish a claim to a certain thing, I might take another man’s wife into my house on the ground of her having eyebrows, ears, nose, eyes, tongue, hand and feet like my wife. This bull is born and nourished in my own house. I shall adduce four witnesses from the village in which he formerly

¹ अथ मतं—हावपि भावप्रतिज्ञावादिनी मदीययिदं दायादप्राप्तं मदीयमिदं दायादप्राप्तमिति पूर्वापरकालविभागानाकलितमेव वदतः तव द्वयोः साक्षिषु सत्सु कस्य साक्षिणो याच्या इत्याशङ्क्या-द्वयोर्विवदतोरर्थे—इति वचनेन यः पूर्वं निवेदयति तस्य साक्षिणो याच्याः ।—Mitāksharā on II. 10.

² Yaj., II. 17.

³ Vis., VIII. 10.

⁴ Nār. IV. 163.

⁵ यदा कश्चित् समागत्य एवं वदति । यथा योऽयं वृषभस्त्वयाञ्चै तिष्ठति, स मदीयं तृतीयं वर्तते । मत्सकाशात् चौरैर्ह तस्य अनेन सह सप्त गोरूपाणि गतानि । तानि यदि तव पाशे लब्धानि, तथा च रक्तवर्णपुच्छकचर्मरपुच्छयुक्तापादायभिज्ञानस्यष्टौकृतं चतुर्भिः साक्षिभिरात्मीयमहं संभावयामि । तच्छ्रुत्वा द्वितीयनाभिहितम् । इह प्रजापतेः सृष्टिं कुर्वतः अनेकानि द्विपदचतुष्यदानि समानाभिज्ञानानि भवन्ति । यदि सट्टशभिज्ञानमात्रेण लभ्यते ततः स्वकीयपरन्या यानि अभिज्ञानाहि भूकर्ष-नासिकाजिदन्तजिह्वाहस्तपादादिकानि तानि परस्त्रीष्वपि दृष्टा कक्षात् स्वगृहं न प्रवेशयामि । तदेव वृषभो गृह्यजातो वर्धितः । यस्मिन् यानि स्थितस्तस्माद् ग्रामादहमपि साक्षिचतुष्टयमानीय स्वकीयं संभावयामीति । इत्यतः पूर्वकालः पक्षो यस्य भवति तस्य साक्षिणः प्रमाणानि भवन्ति ।

was, to establish the fact that he is mine.' In a dispute of this kind, the witnesses of that party are to depose who brought the suit into the court."

But Mitāksharā is against this view, viz., 'that the witnesses of that party by whom the suit was instituted will have the right to be examined.' The expression *yasya purravādah* has been explained in a different way by this commentary. According to it *purravādi* does not mean 'the party from whom the plaint has come first' but 'the party who says he is in possession of or has inherited and enjoyed the property first.'¹ Parāśara Dharmasamhitā also supports this view and illustrates it in the following manner²; "Suppose a man receives as a gift a certain piece of land, enjoys it for some time and then goes with his family to a distant country. Then that piece of land is taken possession of by some other man and enjoyed by him. He too after some time goes to another land for some troubles in his own country. Both of them return after a long time to their respective places and go to the court in order to get the dispute regarding the land formerly enjoyed by them settled. One of them says—'King Jayavarmā at the time of his rule made a gift of this land unto me.' The other also says—'King Dharmapāla gave this land to me. It is true that Jayavarmā gave this land to my opponent but Dharmapāla purchased it from Jayavarmā and then gave it to me.'

¹ पूर्वस्मिन्काले मया प्रतिगृहीतमुपभुक्तं चेति यो वदत्यसौ पूर्ववादी । न पुनर्यः पूर्वं निवेदयति तस्य साक्षिणः प्रष्टव्यः ।

² यत्रैको चेतं प्रतिगृहेण प्राप्य भुक्त्वा त्यक्त्वा देशान्तरं गतः । पुनरन्येन लब्धं भुक्तं च सोऽपि देशविप्रवादिना देशान्तरं सकुटुम्बो गतः । पुनस्तौ द्वौपि चिरन्तनकालापगमे स्ववृत्तिलोभेन स्वस्थानमागत्य चैवविवादनिर्णयार्थं मानं युगपदावाती । तत्रैकः प्रतिजानीते—जयवर्माख्येन राज्ञा स्वराज्यकाले मम दत्तं मदीयमेवेतत् चेदम् । अन्योऽपि प्रतिजानीते—धर्मपालेन राज्ञा मम दत्तं मदीयमेवेतत् चेदम् । सन्ति च द्वयोरपि वादिनोः साक्षिणः । तत्रेदमुक्तं द्वयोर्विवदतोरर्थ इति । अयमर्थः—यस्य विवदमानस्य पूर्वपक्षो भवेत्, पूर्वकालिकस्य दानस्य स्वत्वहेतुतया उपन्यासेन पक्षो भवेत् तस्य साक्षिणः सभ्यः प्रष्टव्यः भवेद्युः । नेतरस्य साक्षिणः । तेषामुत्तरकाले दान साक्षित्वेनासाक्षिप्रायत्वात् । p. 117 and 118.

Both of them have witnesses. Under such circumstances the witnesses of that person have to be examined who states that the gift of the land was made to him first, on account of his mentioning the fact that it primarily belonged to him and not the witnesses of the adverse party, because they are witnesses to the gift made at a subsequent occasion and as such are as good as no witnesses."

When owing to the combination (*saṅkara*) of two or more kinds of reply given by the defendant to the different allegations of the plaintiff there arise several issues, the plaintiff has to prove that issue only¹ which is upon him and the defendant has to prove the issues upon which he intends to rely.² When the same party, *i.e.*, the defendant, has to prove two issues, the order in which they are to be proved is to be decided by the parties themselves and the tribunal.³ When a certain issue is to be proved by one party and another or more by the opposite party, that one is to be taken up first which is considered most important.⁴

We may illustrate the rules above noticed by a few examples.

(1) C sues D for a sum of one hundred rupees.

D says he does not owe anything to C (*mithyottara*).⁵

The burden of proof is on C.

D says in defence such and such witnesses of C are not to be relied on because they have such and such faults.

¹ There can be only one issue upon the plaintiff in the case of *mithyottara*.

² मिथ्याकारणोत्तरयोः सङ्करे अर्थि प्रत्यर्थिनोर्द्वयोरपिक्रिया प्राप्नोति ।

मिथ्याक्रिया पूर्ववादी कारणे प्रतिवादिनि ।

प्राङ्गत्याकारणोक्तौ तु प्रत्यर्थी निर्दिशेत् क्रियाम् ।—Mitāksharā on II. 6.

³ क्रमश्च अर्थिनः प्रत्यर्थिनः सभ्यानां चेच्छ्या भवति ।

⁴ यत् पुनरुभयोः (मिथ्याकारणयोः) सङ्करस्तत्र यस्या प्रभूतार्थविषयत्वं तत्क्रियोपादानेन व्यवहारः प्रवर्तनीयः । पश्चादल्पविषयोत्तरीपादानेन च व्यवहारो द्रष्टव्यः । यत् प्रभूतार्थविषयं यत् वा स्यात् क्रियाद्वयम् *etc.*—Hārīta, quoted by Mitāksharā.

⁵ रूपकशतं सद्यः धारयतीत्युक्ते नाहं धारयामीति ।

The witnesses say they are faultless.

The burden of proving what is alleged rests on D.¹

(2) C sues D for a sum of one hundred rupees.

D replies the same suit was brought against him before by the plaintiff in which he was defeated (*prāñnyāyottara*)²

D is to prove (by the record of victory—*jayapatrādīnā*) that C was defeated in a former trial.

(3) C sues D for a sum of one hundred rupees.

D says he took the money on loan but paid it back (*kāraṇa* or *pratyavaskandanottara*).³

The burden of proof lies on D.

(4) C sues D for a sum of one hundred rupees and a quantity of paddy.

D replies (1) the allegation regarding the money is false and (2) in the matter of paddy the plaintiff was defeated in a former trial (*sañkara* of *mithyā* and *prāñnyāyottara*).⁴

The burden of proof regarding (1) is on C and (2) is on D.

(5) C sues D for one hundred gold and one hundred silver coins.

D replies (1) the allegation regarding the gold coins is false and (2) as regards the silver coins they have been paid back (*sañkara* of *mithyā* and *kāraṇottara*).⁵

The burden of proof regarding (1) is on C and (2) is on D.

¹ संसदि प्रतिवादिना साचिदूषणे कृते साचिषः प्रष्टव्याः—युष्वास्वभिहितो दोषः सत्यं न वा । ते यदि न अङ्गीकुर्वन्ति तदा दूषणवादिनाः दूषणक्रिया भाव्या ।—Parāśara, p. 105.

² अस्मिन्नर्थे अनेनाहमभियुक्तस्तत्र चायं व्यवहारमार्गेण पराजित इति ।

³ सत्यं प्रतिगृहीतं प्रतिदत्तम् ।

⁴ अनेन रूपकशतं धान्यं च गृहीतमित्यभियोगे रूपकशतं न गृहीतं धान्यविषये पूर्वभाषेन पराजित इति ।

⁵ सुवर्णं रूपकशतं च गृहीतमित्यभियोगे सुवर्णं न गृहीतं रूपकशतं गृहीतं प्रतिदत्तं चेति ।

(6) C sues D for one hundred gold and one hundred silver coins.

D replies (1) gold coins were taken on loan and duly paid back and (2) in the matter of silver coins C was defeated in a former trial (*sañkara* of *prāñnyāya* and *kāraṇottara*).¹

Both the issues are to be proved by D.

(7) C sues D for one hundred gold coins, one hundred silver coins and some pieces of cloth.

D replies (1) gold coins were taken on loan and paid back (2) silver coins have not been taken and (3) in the matter of cloth C was defeated in a former trial (*sañkara* of *mithyā*, *prāñnyāya* and *kāraṇottara*).²

The proof of (1) and (3) lies on D and (2) is to be proved by C.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Witnesses have to be examined, as Kātyāyana says, in the presence of both the plaintiff and the defendant,³ and according to Nārada they are to be examined each separately but whether they are to give evidence within or out of the hearing of each other is not stated by either of them.⁴ Vāsiṣṭha says, however, that 'if a certain fact has been witnessed by some persons assembled together then they are to depose also in that manner, *i.e.*, being assembled. If they have witnessed it separately, evidence

¹ प्राङ्गन्याये कारणीतोतौ तु प्रत्यक्षीं निर्दिशेत् क्रियाम्। यथा सुवर्णं गृहीतं प्रतिदत्तं रूपके व्यवहारमागच्छ पराजित इति।

² यथा अनेन सुवर्णं रूपकशतं वस्त्रानि तु गृहीतानि इत्यभियोगे सत्यं सुवर्णं गृहीतं रूपकशतं न गृहीतं वस्त्रविषये तु पूर्वन्यायेन पराजित इति। अत्र मिथ्योत्तरस्य प्रभूतविषयत्वात् अर्थिनः क्रिया-मादाय प्रथम व्यवहारः प्रवर्तनीयः; पश्चाद् वस्त्रविषयो व्यवहारः।

³ सभान्तः साक्षिणः प्राप्तानर्थिं प्रत्यक्षिसन्निधौ। प्राङ्गविवाकोऽनुयुज्जोत विज्ञातार्थान् पृथक् पृथक्॥
Quoted by the Mitāksharā.

⁴ आह्वय साक्षिणः पृच्छेन्नियस्य शपथेर्भूतम्। समस्तान् विदित्वाचारान् विज्ञातार्थान् पृथक् पृथक्।—Nārada IV, 198.

should be given by them separately. If that fact has been seen by different persons at different times, then they are to give evidence one by one and without each other's hearing.'¹ Gautama's injunction 'witnesses shall not speak without being assembled' (XV. 5) is to be explained in this light.

A verse quoted by the Mitāksharā says that witnesses are not to be asked the same question again and again. This verse further says that what a witness says quite naturally is to be accepted.² In the opinion of Kautilya it constitutes an offence to help witnesses by giving them clues.³ Manu expresses almost the same view. According to him "what the witnesses declare quite naturally, i.e., neither out of compassion, in the belief of gaining merit nor out of fear, that must be received in trials; depositions differing from that which they make improperly are worthless for the purpose of justice."⁴ He says further—"evidence given from covetousness, distraction, terror, friendship, lust, wrath, ignorance and childishness is invalid."⁵

The answers given by a witness are to be relevant to the point of issue and all irrelevant statements are to be rejected. Thus says Nārada, "If in a lawsuit a witness, while being examined, does not make statements exactly to the point, no importance should be attached thereto. Further, if there be any discrepancy in the depositions

¹ समवेतैस्तु यद्वचं वक्तव्यं तु तथैव तत् । विभिन्नेनैव यत्कार्यं वक्तव्यं तत् प्रथक् प्रथक् ॥
भिन्नकाले तु यत्कार्यं ज्ञातं वा यच्च साक्षिभिः । एकैकं वादयेत्तत्र विधिरिष प्रकीर्तितः ॥

Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 208.

² स्वभावोक्तं वचस्तेषां याह्यं यद्दीर्घवर्जितम् । उक्ते तु साक्षिणी राज्ञा न प्रष्टव्याः पुनः पुनः ।

Mitāksharā on Yaj. II. 79.

³ मत्तिसाहाय्यं साक्षिभ्यो ददाति.....उत्तममख्ये साहसदण्डं कुर्यात्—Kau. IV. 9.

⁴ स्वभावेनैव यद्वच्यु सद्यो ह्यहं व्यावहारिकम् ।

अतो यदन्यद् विवृत्यु धर्मार्थं तदपार्थक्यम् ॥—VIII. 78.

⁵ लोभान्धो ह्यदभयान्धो दातुं कामात् क्रोधात्तथैव च ।

अज्ञानाद् बालभावाच्च साह्यं वितथमुच्यते ॥—VIII. 118.

of a witness regarding the place and time of the occurrence, his age, and the dimension, shape and class of things in dispute, those depositions are to be rejected. And if the witnesses happen to make statements insufficient to prove a fact or far beyond the point, those statements are also to be considered as of no value.”¹

We do not know definitely whether in ancient India an accused person was examined in criminal cases in course of his trial. As a matter of fact all legal treatises are silent on this point. Kauṭilya alone throws some light on the subject. In Chapter XX, Book III, the punishment of first amercement is prescribed for a person, who though not authorised *examines an offender* on oath.² Whether this too, bears any reference to the examination of the accused in courts is not clear.

We do not know also if the system of ‘cross examination’ was in vogue in ancient times. Practically we do not get any clear reference to it. The word *vākyañuṣṭhā*, however, occurs in Kauṭilya.³ It has been rendered by R. Shamsastri as “*cross examination*” and is to be employed in lieu of torture to elicit confessions in the case of a female accused. Mitāksharā tells us of *vākya-parīkṣā*⁴ (examination of statements) and Kātyāyana of *vākya-sōdhanā*⁵ (clearing a statement of all errors), but whether these were made by means of cross examination as we now understand it, is a matter of great doubt. The commentator Haradatta says, however, that the word *iti* in the injunction सन्देहे लिङ्गतो दैवेनेति विचित्र्य (Āpastamba II.

¹ देशकाल वयोद्रव्य प्रमाणाकृतिजातिषु । यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् सत्यं तदपि नाव्यथा ।
ऊनं वाच्यधिकं वाच्यं प्रवृत्त्यर्थं च साक्षिणः । तदप्यनुक्तं विज्ञेयमेव सत्यविधिः स्मृतः ॥

Nārada, IV. 233 and 234.

² शपथवाक्यानुयोगमनिष्टं कुर्वतः पृष्टः साहसदण्डः, —IV. 8.

³ स्त्रिया वाक्यानुयोगो वा—IV. 8.

⁴ साक्षिपरीक्षातिरेकेण तद्वाक्य परीक्षीपदेशाच्च । साक्षिभिर्भाषितं वाक्यं सहसम्यैः परीक्षयेत् ।
Mitāksharā II. 80.

⁵ यदा यथा क्रिया.....तदा तदवाक्यशीघ्रमम् ।—Kātyāyana (Mitāksharā on II. 80).

11-29-6) includes, among other additional proofs, the *proof of cross-examination* as well.

The credibility of a witness is to be ascertained by his demeanour while under examination. Vishṇu says "a false witness may be known by his altered looks, by his countenance, changing colour and by his talk wandering from the subject."¹ Yājñavalkya also says²—"He who goes about from one place to another, who licks the corner of his mouth, whose forehead perspires, whose face becomes discoloured, whose mouth is dried up, whose words falter, who gives vent to many contradictory words, whose words and looks do not please others, who bends his lips and naturally comes by disfigurement in word, deed, body and mind is described as a wicked person both in the matter of complaint and that of giving evidence." Yājñavalkya has another test of credibility too and it is embodied in the following verse:—"If a few witnesses give the same evidence and other more reliable persons or twice the number of former witnesses make a contradictory statement, then the former witnesses will be regarded as false ones."³ In the opinion of Kauṭilya also the consideration of the number of witnesses becomes most material when direct testimony is opposed by conflicting evidence. He says "if witnesses differ, judgment may be given in accordance with the statements of a majority of pure and respectable witnesses or a mean of their statement may be followed."⁴ Nārada supports

¹ सभाविक्लृतीः सुखवर्णविनाशिः सस्वम् प्रलापे च कूटसाक्षिणं विद्यात् ।—Vishṇu, VIII. 18.

Cf. उपस्थिताः परीक्ष्याः स्युः स्वरवर्णं ह्रितादिभिः ।—Bṛihaspati.

देशादेशान्तरं याति सङ्क्षणी परिलेदिच । ललाटं स्विद्यते यत्र मुखं वैवर्ण्यमिति च ॥

परिश्रम्यत्स्वल्पाको विरुद्धं बहुभाषते । वाक्चक्षुः पूजयति नो तथोद्यै निर्भज्यपि ॥

सभावादं विक्लृतिं गच्छन् मनो वाक्काय कर्मभिः । अभियोगे च साक्ष्ये च दुष्टः स परिकीर्तितः ॥

² Yaj., II. 13-15. See also Nārada, IV. 193-196.

³ उक्तेऽपि साक्षिभिः साक्ष्ये यदन्ये गुणवत्तमाः ।

द्विगुणा वाग्यथाब्रूयुः कूटाः स्युः सर्वसाक्षिणः ॥—Yaj., II. 82.

⁴ साक्षिभेदे यतो बहवः श्रवणोऽनुमता वा ततो नियच्छेयुः मध्यं वा गृहीयुः ।—Kau., III. 11.

Kauṭilya by saying "in the case of conflict between the deposition of witnesses, the statement of the majority should be accepted. If the number of witnesses adhering to two conflicting statements be equal, then the statement of those known to be of pure character should be given preference."¹

In the *Mitāksharā* and *Vyāvahāra Bālabhāṭṭi* we find some verses quoted from *Nārada*, *Bṛihaspati* and other authorities which seem to have very special significance as to the Hindu Law of Evidence. These verses clearly indicate that the character of witnesses called in by a party could be questioned by the opposite party if it occurred to him that they had such a general reputation for untruthfulness or moral turpitude that they were unworthy of credit. They also go to prove that the ancient Hindu Law gives made sufficient provision for the protection of witnesses against their reputation being injured by false allegations regarding their character. These verses are rendered below for ready reference :—

"The faults of the witnesses of either party are to be mentioned by the opposite party. They are to be mentioned one by one in a written petition."² "If the allegations against certain witnesses are substantiated those witnesses are to be sent away. Otherwise the party who makes those allegations are to be punished with fine."³ "The adverse party may bring the charge of bad character

¹ साक्षि विप्रतिपत्तौ तु प्रमाणं बहुवै यतः ।

तत्ताम्ये शुचयो याज्ञाः..... Nar., IV. 229.

² साक्षिदोषाः प्रवक्तव्याः संसदि प्रतिवादिना । पदेऽभिलिख्य तान् सर्वान् वाच्याः प्रत्युत्तरं तु ते ॥
पते तान् सर्वान् अभिलिख्य उत्तरमुत्तरं ते दोषा वाच्या इति कल्पतरुः ।

Vyavahāra bālabhāṭṭi on the *Mitāksharā* on II. 72.

³ असाधयन् दसं दाप्यो दूषणं साक्षिणां स्फुटम् । भाविते साक्षिणो वज्याः साक्षिधमनिराकृताः ॥
यदि साक्षिदोषमुद्गाह्य साधयितुं न शक्नोति प्रतिवादी तदासौ सारानुसारेण दण्ड्यः ॥

Mitāksharā on II. 72.

and other faults where such faults exist. But if he alleges faults against a faultless witness, he is to be punished with a fine equal to the amount in dispute.”¹ Parāśara Dharma Samhitā has the following note on these verses :—“suppose in the tribunal the defendant mentions that the witnesses of the complainant are guilty of certain faults. The Judges should ask them ‘Do such faults really exist in you?’ If they reply in the affirmative they should not be accepted as witnesses. If they deny the charge then those offences are to be proved by the defendant. If he fails to prove them then he is to be punished according to the nature of the suit.”² We also know from a verse of Kātyāyana and the interpretation put on it by Devanabhaṭṭa that where the witnesses have such faults as are known to the general public and to the Judges, ‘they need not be mentioned at the time of their examination by the opposite party but the Judges themselves are to take cognisance of them.’³

Manu and Viṣṇu further tell us “if it can be proved that a perjured witness has given false evidence in a suit then the judgment is to be reversed by the Judge and what has been done must be considered as undone.”⁴ Kulluka explains the injunction in this way :—“if it can

¹ साक्षिणीर्द्विसमुद्दिष्टान् सःसु दीषिषु दूषयेत् । अदुष्टं दूषयन् वादी तत्समं दण्डमर्हति ।

Bṛihaspati—Parāśara, p. 105.

² संसदि प्रतिवादिना साक्षिदूषणे कृते साक्षिणः प्रष्टव्याः युष्मास्वभिहितो दीषः सत्यं न वा । ते यदि दूषणमभ्युपगच्छन्ति तदा न साक्षिणः । अथ न अङ्गीकुर्वन्ति तदा दूषणवादिना दूषणक्रिया भाव्या । अथ सम्भावयितुं न शक्नोति तदा दूषणवादी सारानुसारिण दण्डः । यदि भावयति तदा ते न साक्षिणः ।

³ सभासदां प्रसिद्धं यत्कोकसिद्धमयापि वा । साक्षिणां दूषणं याज्ञसमाध्यं दीषवर्णनात् । एवं प्रतिवादिना दूषणप्रतिपादनं न प्रकटे दूषणे कार्यं वैश्वर्यात् । किन्तु सत्यं रितं तथाविधदूषणं याज्ञम्..... Smṛiti Chandrikā, p. 193.

⁴ यस्मिन् यस्मिन् विवादे तु कूटसाक्ष्यं कृतं भवेत् ।

तत्तत् कार्यं निवर्तेत कृतञ्चाप्यकृतं भवेत् ॥ Manu, VIII. 117.

यस्मिन् यस्मिन् विवादे तु कूटसाक्ष्यवृत्तं वदेत् ।

तत्तत् कार्यं निवर्तेत कृतञ्चाप्यकृतं भवेत् ॥ Viṣṇu, VIII. 40.

be ascertained that a witness has given false evidence, then the proceedings must be stopped and if any fine has been imposed on either of the parties on the strength of such evidence in course of the proceedings, that fine also must be remitted.”¹ We further know from Nārada that all proofs regarding the perjury of witnesses or any other point are to be produced before the judgment is delivered and the proofs produced after the trial is finished are of no value.² Bṛihaspati also insists that ‘the faults either in documents or witnesses are to be exposed at the time when the trial is proceeding. Those lose their force as valid objections which are declared afterwards.’³ Mitāksharā is also of the same opinion and says that the prohibition in regard to the production of additional proofs is to be observed in the case of a trial being over and the judgment announced.⁴

¹ यस्मिन् यस्मिन् व्यवहारे साक्षिभिरवृतस्तुक्तमिति निश्चितं भवेत् तत्तत्कार्यमसमाप्तं प्राङ्विवाको निवर्त्तयेत् । यदपि च दण्डसमाप्ति पर्यन्ततां नीतं तदपि पुनः परीचीतम् ।

² निश्चिते व्यवहारे तु प्रमाणमफलं भवेत् ॥—Nar., IV. 62.

³ May. p. 26.

⁴ जयावधारणोत्तरकालमेव प्रमाणान्तरनिषेधः ।—Mitāksharā on Yaj, II. 80.

The Vishnudharmottaram.*

(*A Treatise on Indian Painting.*)

BY

STELLA KRAMRISCH

* "He who paints waves, flames, smoke and streamers fluttering in the air, according to the movement of the wind, should be considered a great painter."

Vishnudharmottaram, ch. 43, V. 28.

"Painting is the best of all arts, conducive to dharma, pleasure, wealth and emancipation. It gives the greatest pleasure, when placed in a house."

Vishnudharmottaram, ch. 43, V. 38.

Part III of the Vishnudharmottaram gives the fullest account known hitherto of the various branches, methods and ideals of Indian painting. It deals with the religious aspect but also, and to a far greater extent, with its secular employment. It proclaims the joy that colours and forms and the representation of things seen and imagined produce. Speaking of artistic representation in relation to religion it points out their mutual limitations. "Vajra said:—The supreme god has been described as devoid of form, smell and emotion and destitute of sound and touch—so how this form can be (made) of him ?

Mārkaṇḍeya replied: "Prakṛiti (and) vikṛiti (come into existence) through the (variation in) the form of the supreme soul. That form of him (which is) scarcely to be

* Published by Kshemarāja Krishṇadāsa, Proprietor, Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, Bombay, 1912.

seen was called prakṛiti. The whole universe should be known as the vikṛiti (*i.e.* transformation) of him, (when) endowed with form. Worship and meditation (of the supreme being) are possible (only when he is) endowed with form.....The best position of the (supreme) soul (however) is to be imagined without form. For the sight of the worlds (he) exists with eyes closed in meditation.....¹ This concession being made, life in its entirety becomes fit for artistic representation, and the realm of imagination is as close within the reach of the artists, as nature that surrounds him, for tradition guides him in the one case and observation checks and inspires him in the other.

The Vishṇudharmottaram admits in several places, that it is but repeating and compiling from older sources. These being lost to us, our text represents the earliest exhaustive account of the theory of painting. Its date can be ascertained partly from chapters being copied from earlier sources, and partly from a custom of setting up statues to renowned personages with which the text deals.

Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata, was worshipped as a deity. Directions as to the making of the image of Vyāsa are given in the chapters dealing with image making, consecutive to the chapters on painting.² There directions are also given for making images of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadeva, Kṛṣṇa,—Sumanta, Jaimini, Paila, Vaysampāyana,—(the four disciples of Vyāsa), Devaki, Jaśodā, Balarāma, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Śamba and Aniruddha.

At the time of the compilation of the Vishṇudharmottaram the Mahābhārata must have been held sacred to such an extent, that not only its heroes, but also its so-called author and his disciples were worshipped as

¹ (V. dh. P. III Ch. 46, verses 1-19).

² (V. dh. part III Ch 85, verses 65-79.)

deities. Valmiki too was worshipped as a deity and how to make his image is also told in the Vishṇudharmottaram.¹

The complete book of the Rāmāyaṇa being not anterior to the Mahābhārata,² and the Mahābhārata in its present shape being assigned to a period between 200 and 400 A.D.³ the Vishṇudharmottaram cannot date earlier than the 5th century A.D. This date is also evident from that of the Vishṇupurāṇa, of which the Vishṇudharmottaram is an appendix. The Vishṇupurāṇa is based in its genealogical accounts on those of the Bhaviṣya, Matsya and Vāyu.....⁴ 'The Vāyu borrowed the Bhaviṣya's augmented account about or soon after the year 330 or 335 A.D.⁵ The Vishṇupurāṇa therefore cannot be earlier than the 2nd half of the 4th century A.D.

The lower age limit however, of the Vishṇudharmottaram must be advanced still further, for Part III, Chapter 27 dealing with colours, is borrowed verbatim from Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, and the number of rasas in the Vishṇudharmottaram is nine, while only eight are dealt with by Bharata.

The upper age limit of the text may again be found from an iconographic peculiarity of its pantheon. In it every god, hero, philosopher or sage finds his place somewhere round the central figure of Viṣṇu, the god supreme. Yet no mention is made of Śaṅkara, who up to the present day is worshipped in the form of an image. Had Śaṅkara existed at the time of the compilation of the chapters on painting, the author would have incorporated him into the Vaiṣṇava pantheon in spite of his being an incarnation of Śiva.

¹ (Part III Ch. 85, verses 63-64).

² (Hopkins, Great Epic of India, pp. 58-84).

³ (L. C. p. 389).

⁴ (Pargiter Dynasties of the Kali Age, Intro. pp. XIII and XVI).

⁵ (V. dh. Chapter 41 v. 11).

The chapters of the Vishṇudharmottaram dealing with painting must have been compiled in the seventh century, contemporary with the latest paintings of Ajanta; and so we get acquainted with the theories prevalent at the time of the full maturity of their practice. But it must not be forgotten, that our text is but a compilation and its recipes and prescriptions go back into a remoter past. Valuable as these manifold informations are, we have to be aware, that like all theories they are derived from, and subservient to the practice. They left every freedom to the artist, to work as the text says 'according to his own intellect.' What Śrī Kumāra, modestly states in his Śilparatna (verse 14) also holds good for our text: "I describe the methods of Chitra for the benefit of the ignorant."

Painting in ancient India, especially in the Gupta age was of great importance in the life of the citizen. The interest taken in pictures varied with the education of the spectator. "The masters praise the rekhās (रेखा) (delineation and articulation of form), the connoisseurs praise the display of light and shade, (वर्तना) women like the display of ornaments, to the rest of the public richness of colours appeals." The artists therefore should take great care, that the painting may be appreciated by every one. There was ample opportunity for contemplating and appreciating paintings.

From the great hall built by the Bodhisat—according to the Mahā Ummagga Jātaka¹—painted with beautiful pictures, and the subterranean palace of the same Jātaka, with its stucco-coated walls bearing paintings of the splendour of Sacca, the zones of Mt. Sumeru, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, Himavat, lake Anotatta, the vermillion mountain, sun and moon, the

¹ Jatakam vol. VI p. 159 and 223.

heaven of the great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions,—to the picture gallery (*cittagarē*) in the royal pleasure grove of Prasenañjit, King of Kosala, where many people used to go, amongst them the Bhikkhunis, who were forbidden to do so¹—to those many portraits and landscapes painted by artists of the royal and the servant class alike, as mentioned in Ratnāvalī, Raghuvamśa, Sakuntalā and Uttararāmacharitam—we see an unfading delight taken in the magic and the sensuousness of painting. Wherever there was a festival, painting enhanced its mood—"from the city gate to the palace, and from the palace to his own house, on both sides of the road, he erected lattice work, and covered all over with mats, covered all with pictures, scattered flowers upon the ground, hung flags and banners."²

As permanent or temporary decoration, on the floors, on the walls and ceilings of private houses, palaces and temples, and on the streets, paintings instructed and enlivened the mind of the public. Even religious teachers used painting as the most popular means of communication, that could be understood by the illiterate and the child. "There is a class of Brahmanical teachers, known by the name of Nakha. They make a (portable) framework upon which they cause to be drawn a variety of pictures, depicting scenes of good and evil destinies, of fortunes and misfortunes, 'by doing this deed one attains this,' 'by doing that, one attains that' thus showing different destinies, they wander about with these pictures."³

That every cultured man had in his house a drawing board, and a vessel for holding brushes and other requisites

¹ (Vinaya, Vol. IV, Pacittiya nr. XLI. p. 289).

² (Mahā Umagga Jataka p. 212).

³ (Sārattha-Pakāsini, Siamese edition, Part II, p. 398).

of painting is evident from Vātsyāyanas Kāmasūtra.¹ But one should not have a painting by one's own hand in one's house, thinks the Vishṇudharmottaram. Certain objects only are to be painted in private residences, suggesting love, gaiety and peace, while the supernatural and the terrible aspects of life were reserved for the walls of temples and royal audience halls. (cf. Ch. 43.)

The paintings were executed in various types, wall-paintings, pictures on board and on canvas were equally frequent (cf. Kāmasūtra and Vishṇudharmottaram). The latter were sometimes in the shape of rolls, exhibiting continuous representation. Such a roll was spread out by a spy of Cānakya before the people in Candanadāsa's house and was exhibited by him with songs.² If framed they were of oblong, square and round shape and the Vishṇudharmottaram accordingly distinguishes 4 types of pictures: (1) satyam, (सत्यं) true, we may say realistic, in an oblong frame, (2) vainīkam, (वैणिकं) which may mean lyrical, in square frame, and (3) nāgaram, (नागरं) of the citizen, genre-pictures in round frames, while the fourth type simply is miśram, (मिश्रं) mixed. In connection with wall paintings the Vishṇudharmottaram also alludes to floors inlaid with precious jewels. From the Śilparatna on the other hand we know that Dhūlichitram, powder painting, familiar to Bengali ladies as Alpona, was applied as temporary coating of powdered colours on a beautiful piece of ground.³

Painting taking such a wide part in secular and religious life, it was only natural, that legends were invented to explain the origin of the art. The Vishṇudharmottaram⁴ gives a long account of how the sage Nārāyaṇa

¹ Benares ed. pp. 32, 44.

² (Mūdrārākṣha, Act I).

³ Śilparatna (ch. 46 verses 143—145).

⁴ V. dh, Part I, Chap 129, verses 1—19).

in order to put the Apsarasas to shame created the most beautiful nymph Urvaśī, by drawing her outline with mango juice. The Citralakshana¹ again tells how king Nam-grags-a Jigs t' ul, ordered by Brahmā painted the likeness of a deceased son of a Brahmin; whereupon Brahmā made it come to life and having thus defeated Yama, he restored the son to his father. In either legend the origin of the art of painting is seen in the outlining of a human figure² for the purpose of creating a living human form. This reconstructed origin is magic and non-aesthetic. A similar notion is to be found in Bhasa's Svapna Vāsavadatta³ where king Udayana and princess Vasavadatta, with whom he had eloped, are though absent, married in effigie, by their parents, by drawing the portraits of the two on a board. These instances prove that the artist draws from his memory when visualizing a portrait. With this tradition however another has to be held together. A Tibetan text of the eighteenth century, the d'pag bsam ljon bzair (ed. by Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, 1908) tells how king Utrayana of Rāvana caused a picture of Buddha to be made, by taking the reflex of the figure of the Dacabala, as his model. This picture has become known under the name of l'u lon-ma (derived from the water).⁴ The Śilparatna accordingly defines painting as what bears a resemblance (and) looks like a reflex in a mirror.⁵ The imitative and the imaginative origin of pictorial representation therefore were felt as equally true. The Vishṇudharmottaram quotes the

¹ Citralakshana, (German transl. Laufer, Dokumente der indischen Kunst p. 129—136)

² (Cf. A. K. Maitra, Aims and Methods of Painting in Ancient India. Rūpaṃ 1923).

³ (Transl. S. Subba Rau, Madras p. 48).

⁴ (Laufer, l. c. p. 186.)

⁵ Śilparatna, (IV ch. 46 verses 145—146).

Urvaśi-legend, yet the text never grows tired to point to things seen as ever fresh sources of artistic inspiration, when dealing with the *drisṭam* (i.e., with things seen). But not only the two-fold origin of painting in observation and imagination was theoretically known to the authors of the various treatises ; the *Vishṇudharmottaram*, moreover, introduces its chapters on painting with a discourse, where Mārkaṇḍeya instructs king Vajra, that without a knowledge of the science of dancing the rules of painting *scarcely can* be understood. In a following passage again, the observation of nature and of the rules of dancing are indicated as the ultimate resources of the painter. This does not mean that the positions of dancers have to be painted. None of the nine positions of the treatise on painting in the *Vishṇu dharmottaram* coincides with any of the 101 positions explicitly described in Bhārata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*. What is meant by the derivation of painting from dancing is the movement in common to both these expressive forms ; it asserts itself in purity through dancing, it guides the hand of the artist, who knows how to paint figures, as if breathing, the wind as blowing, the fire blazing, and the streamers fluttering. The moving force, the vital breath, the life movement, (*chetanā*), that is what is expected to be seen in the work of a painter, to make it alive with rhythm and expression. Imagination, observation and the expressive force of rhythm are meant by the legends of the origin of painting, to be its essential features.

The *Vishṇudharmottaram* clearly distinguishes between *drisṭam* and *adrishṭam*, the latter comprising things invisible or rarely to be seen. The *drisṭam*, things that

* Greek tradition, agreeable to an appreciation of the naturalistic aspect of art only, has it that painting began with the outlining of a man's shadow. (The Elder Pliny's chapters on the History of Art, Book XXXV, 15).

are seen easily by ordinary mortals, excels in what we call landscape painting. The hours of day and night, the seasons are described (ch. 42.) There we find that close connection of mood and time, that reached its height in the Rāgmālā pictures, where season, hour, emotion and music became fused as painting. At the same time details are observed with such sincerity as we find them in the pictures of Dutch masters, for instance in the case of the description of the drinking place. The prescriptions for producing light effects too, as the faded light of the candle in the morning dawn, show a very sensitive reaction to optic effects. Yet at the same time we are told that moonshine should be shown by a Kumuda flower in full bloom, sunshine by drawing creatures suffering from heat. In one instance atmospheric effects are observed, while in the other the behaviour of one object or the other, reacting to the atmospheric change is represented suggestively. This interest in the living individuality of the single forms of nature gives to Indian landscape the charm of story telling.

Yet side by side with the naive joy in the variegated forms of nature we learn that rivers are to be represented in human shape, as was the case with them in Greece too, but they should stand on their vāhanas, their knees should be bent and their hands should hold full pitchers. What an amazing association of ideas! The personification of the river put again into action as an ordinary human being, bending down under the load of the full pitcher of water drawn from the river. This versatility in visualizing abstraction and actual action replaces the mere observation of nature. That seas should have water depicted instead of a halo, and that an artist should show a pitcher, to suggest a tank but a conch shell if representing a conch shell, and a lotus flower in representing a lotus flower, once more points to

the absorbing interest, the single form of nature exercised on the mind of the artist. He rendered it faithfully. Yet where large appearances like whole rivers and seas, landscapes with rising suns, etc., had to be painted, he took his refuge and delight in introducing personifications or such actions of some members of the scene appropriate to, and indicative of, their surroundings. The Indian artist never took the world in a sweeping glance.

Observing the details of appearance, the author of the Vishṇudharmottaram describes the different types of men. Country people, the nobility, widows, courtesans, artisans, wrestlers, soldiers, etc. are vividly described in movements, habits and features, peculiar to their class, while at the same time most of them belong to one of the five standardised types of men, called Hamsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Ruchaka and Śāsaka. Their respective measures should be 108, 106, 104, 100 and 90 angulas, in contradistinction to the measurement given in the Brhat Saṁhitā, where the relation of sizes is inverse, 96, 99, 102, 105 and 108 angulas respectively. A detailed description of the 5 types is given there.¹

¹ J. R. A. S., Vol. VII, 1875.

The Brhat Saṁhitā (translated by H Kern), pp. 93-97.

(2) By Jupiter being in its power will be born (the personage denominated) Hansa; by Saturn, the man Čaça; by Mars, the Rucaka; by Mercury, the Bhadra; and by Venus, the Mālavya.

(7) The length and stretch of the Hansa is of 96 digits. The personages going by the names of Čaça, Rucaka, Bhadra and Mālavya, are each taller than the preceding by three digits.

(10) The Mālavya will be marked by arms resembling an elephant's trunk, and by hands reaching to the knees. His members and joints are fleshy, he has a well proportioned and neat frame, and a slender waist. His face, of oblong form, measures 13 digits, the transverse measure between the ears being three digits less. He has fiery eyes, comely cheeks, even and white teeth and not too thick lips.

(11) Having by his valour obtained wealth, he will, residing in the recesses of Mount Pāriyātra, reign as a wise king over Mālava, Bharoach, Smāshtra, Lāta, Sindh, and so forth.

(12) This Mālavya will at the age of seventy years piously depart from life at a place of pilgrimage. Having in due form indicated the characteristics of this man, I now proceed to mention those of the others,

The figures may appear in various positions, of which nine are the leading attitudes. (1) The front view, **ऋत्वागतम्** (rijvāgatam), (2) the back view, **अनृजु** (anrijū), (3) a bent position in profile view, **साचीकृतशरीरं** (sāchīkṛitaśarīraṁ), (4) the face in profile, the body in three quarter profile view, **अर्धविलोचनम्** (ardhavi-lochanam), (5) the side view proper, **पार्श्वगतं** (pārsvāgatam), (6) with head and shoulder-belt turned backwards, **परावृत्तं** (parāvṛttam), (7) back view with upper part of the body partly visible in forlorn profile, **प्रशृङ्गागतं** (prshṭhā-gatam), (8) with the body sharply turned back from the waist upwards, **परिवृत्तं** (parivṛttam) and lastly (9) the back view, in squatting position with body bent, **समानतम्**

(13) The man Bhadra is marked by having the arms thick, equal, round and long, his length is equal to the stretch of his arms from one side to the other; his cheeks are covered with soft, small and dense hairs.

In his constitution skin and sperm are predominant; his breast is broad and thick; his prevailing quality is goodness. He has a tiger-like face, is steadfast, forbearing, virtuous, grateful; he has the pace of an elephant, and knows many sciences.

(15) He is sagacious, handsome, clever in the arts, constant, an adept at ascetic philosophy; has the forehead and temples well-shaped; the loins likewise, the hands and feet lined like the lotus calix, the nose fine, the eyebrows even and well knit.

(13) His person smells like earth when moist from fresh rain, or cassia-leaf, saffron, frontal juice of elephants, agallochum. The hair of his head is black, curled, and such that each single hair has its own pore.

(18) Should his length come to 84 digits and his weight to one bhâra, then he will be lord over the Middle country; but if he have the full measure implied in the words "taller by three digits" he will be emperor of the whole country.

(19) After dutifully ruling the country he acquired by his bravery, the Bhadra, at eighty years of age, will depart from life at a place of pilgrimage and go to heaven.

(20) The Çaça will have somewhat projecting, otherwise fine teeth, fine nails, blubber eyes; a swift pace; he takes delight in science, mining and trade; has full cheeks, is false, a good general; fond of love's sport and partial to other men's wives: restless, valorous, obedient to his mother, and attached to woods, hills, rivers and wildernesses.

(21) The same Çaça is suspicious, and a keen observer of another's weak points. He is 92 digits in length, and, not being very heavy, has a soft step. The chief constituent of his body is marrow.

(22) His waist is slender.

(samānatam).¹ In a further passage thirteen positions are enumerated—this however is clearly an interpolation.

These positions are obtained in painting with the help of kṣaya (क्षय) and vṛiddhi (वृद्धि,) decrease and increase, that is to say, the science of forshortening.

Kṣaya and vṛiddhi, forshortening, and proportion, (प्रमाण) pramāṇa, constitute with regard to single figures the working of observation and tradition; the law of kṣaya and vṛiddhi was as intensely studied by the ancient Indian painter as was perspective by the early Italian masters. Pramāṇa on the other hand was the standardized canon, valid for the upright standing figure and to be modified by every bent and turn. The Haṁsa measure is detailed in full; it is of the uttama navatāla type. The annexed plates compare the uttama navatāla measure of the Viṣṇudharmottaram with those

(23) This Çaça will be a border chieftain or provincial governor. . . . He will, seventy years old, reach Yama's home.

(24) The marks of the Hansa are; the mouth red, the face gold coloured, and showing thick cheeks and an elevated nose; the head round; the eyes honey like. the nails wholly red;—etc.

(25) He delights in water. . . . His length according to the statement of the Sages, will be 96 digits.

(26) The Hansa will possess the country of Khasa, Çurasena, Gāndhāra, and the land between the Ganges and Jamuna; after exercising the royal power for 90 years, he will meet death within a wood.

(27) (The worthy Ruchaka by name) will have good eyebrows and hairs; a red tinged dusky colour, a neck marked with three folds like a shell; an oblong face. He is brave, cruel, an egregious counsellor, a chief of robbers, and a practised soldier.

(28) The measure of Ruchaka's face, in length, being taken four times, gives the measure of his middle. His skin is thin.

(29) . . . His length is a hundred digits.

(30) He is an adept in charms and spells, and has thin knees and legs. When this Rucaka has reigned as king over the Vindhya, Sahyagiri and Ujjain, he will on reaching seventy years, find his death by sword or fire.

(31) There are five other men, who will be the attendants of the fore-mentioned monarchs.

(105) The number of digits which make the measure of men's height is, for the tallest, 108; for those of middle height 96; for the shortest 84.

¹ (Cf. *Silparatna* ch. 64 v. 60-110.)

found in Br̥hat Saṁhitā, Śukran̥tisāra, Citralakshana, and with the uttamanavatāla in G. Rao's Tālamāna.¹

Though not distinctly mentioned, it is evident that the body of a God should be of the size of a Haṁsa. Rishis, gandharvas, vidyādhara, daityas, dānavas, ministers, brahmins, Samvatsara (*i.e.* Siva) (*sic!*) and the family priest (purohita) should be of the size of a Bhadra. Yakshas, prostitute women and Vaisyas should have the size of a Ruchaka. Kinnaras, rākshasas, nāgas and domestic women should have the size of a Malavya, while the chief amongst men and the śūdras (!) should be of the size of a Śāsaka, (chapter 42).

Together with pramāṇa, and kṣaya and vṛiddhi, the knowledge of modelling or shading (varttana) was fully known to the Indian masters of old. It is stated to be threefold.² (1) patraja, (पत्रज) cross lines (2) airika, and (ऐरिक) stumping and (3) vinduja (विन्दुज) dots (chapt. 41). How much observation and technical experience is needed to state their results in such clear terms, will be understood. Yet "whatever the artist represents he should avoid placing one figure in front of another," (ch. 43). Once more the same counteraction of abstraction and observation as in the case of landscape painting. A logical employment of kṣaya and vṛiddhi would have implied oversecting. But the Indian artist cherishes every single form as a whole, as containing all he has to express and as containing the whole of nature—and so he cannot bring himself to cover and hide one of its parts.

Remains the employment of colour as indicated by the Vishṇudharmottaram and other sources. Five primary colours, white, yellow, black, blue, and of the emblic

¹ Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India V. 3, pp. 22-25.

² A photo taken before restoration of one of the female figures painted on the rock of Sigiriya shows the various manners of shading.

myrobalan according to our text (ch. 40), or white, red, yellow, black, green, (ch. 27) also according to our text and to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; white, red, yellow, soot and *syāma* (dark, blue or black) according to the *Śilparatna*. The *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* (Ms. 12 ct. Mysore library) knows as pure colours, white made of conch—shell,¹ red (prepared from red lead or from *alaktaka* juice, *i.e.*, lac, or from red chalk, *gairika*), green—brown (*haritāla*) *i.e.* sulphurated arsenic, and black from *kajjala*, (soot, used as eyeblack).

The mixing of these colours is left to the ingenuity of the artist. He may coat them with lac and resin. Colouring substances are : gold, silver, copper, mica, deep coloured brass, red lead, vermillion, tin, yellow orpiment, yellow myrobalan, lac, indigo and some kind of iron oxyde. Prescriptions for the preparation of these vegetable and mineral colours are given in the *Śilparatna*.¹ Red chalk for instance ought to be ground on stone and left covered with water for a day, red lead also ought to be ground and covered with water for half a day, red arsenic, however, should be made into powder but it should not be covered with water. Then the colours should be ground once more and again put into water for five days. Afterwards they should be mixed with the exudation of the *Nimba* tree, then at last they are ready to be applied on walls and in pictures.

Gold-leaf should be divided into finest leaflets, and then ground with a well smoothed stone ; afterwards it has to be mixed with water and with a small amount of sand. When this paste is well ground it should again be put into water, so that all dirt may rise to the surface. The gold paste then should be pressed, mixed with *vajralepa* and applied with suitable brushes.

¹ *Śilparatna*, ch. 46 vs. 119-130.

There were nine brushes for every colour.¹ When dry the artist should rub it slowly with a boar tusk until it becomes bright. Then again he may place over this very fine gold leaves and rub them with hard cotton. The same prescription is to be found in the Abilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi.

As to the preparation of the ground buffalo skin has to be boiled in water, until it becomes like soft butter. The water then has to evaporate and, sticks have to be made of the paste and dried in the sunshine. This hard plaster is called vajralepa.² If then boiled in a mud vessel with water, it will make any colour fast with which it is mixed. If mixed with white mud, it has to be used as coating for the wall, in three layers, each layer being allowed to dry before the application of the next. On this the painting may be applied.³ Previous however to the process of the vajralepa coatings, the wall has to receive a thick coating consisting of bricks, burnt conches and the like powdered according to the Śilparatna, and mixed with sand, the watery preparation of molasses, and drops of the decoction of mudga, (phaseolus munga, mung pulse) amounting to a fourth part of the mortar powder. Into this, smashed ripe banana fruits have to be put, also a fourth part of the amount of the mortar. After three months, when this mixture has dried, it shall be ground again. Then it shall be mixed once more with molasses-water, until it gets the touch of fresh butter. In this stage it should be applied to the wall with a spoon, the wall having been cleansed with cocoanut fibres and having been sprinkled for some time with molasses water. This is the twofold process by which the wall is made ready for the drawing and the application of colours.

¹ Cf. K. P. Jayaswal—A Hindu Text on Painting, Modern Review, XXXIII, p. 734.

² For the preparation of Vajralepa see Brhat Samhitā, Oh. 57, Abilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi, verse 86 and following, and Śilparatna, vs. 131-133.

³ For the preparation of the wall underneath the Vajra-lepa cover. Cf. Vishṇudharmottaram, p. III, Chap. 40, vs. 1 onwards and Śilparatna, verses 41-24.

The outlines ought to be drawn in yellow and red colour as a rule. "The painter should think of the proportionate size of the thing to be painted, and think of it as having been put on the wall. Then calculating its size mentally, he should draw the outline marking all the limbs. It should be bright in prominent places and dark in depressed places. It may be drawn in a single colour, where comparative distinction is required. If depressed places are required to be bright, jet black should be used."¹ The modelling capacity of the outline is also described in the *Vhidhashalavamjikaṃ*. This outline has to be filled with the first colour wash, which as a rule is white, but according to the *Vishṇudharmottaram* also may be green.

The colouring of things seen, says the *Vishṇudharmottaram* is true to nature; great emphasis is laid on the thousandfold mixtures of colours left to the imagination of the artist, and on the light and dark shade of every tone; the range of colours must have been wide enough to render with subtlety the local colour of objects. The different tribes and castes of India are thus distinguished as dark, when belonging to the *Pulindas* and people of the South, to *Pāñchālas*, *Śūrasenas* and *Magadhas*, to *Āngas*, *Vaṅgas* and *Kalīngas*, to *Śūdras*,—to sick men and to family men engaged in toilsome work. *Śakas*, *Yavanas*, *Pallavas* and the *Vālhikas* should be predominantly white, and so are the twice-born and the *Kṣatriyas*, kings and prosperous people.² Yet those too are of dark colour who are oppressed by evil stars, and it is also clear that evil doers ought to be of a dark complexion. The colour thus has partly descriptive and partly suggestive significance. The *drishtaṃ* and *adrishtaṃ* hold their sway; symbol and illustration are

¹ *Abilashitārtha chintāmaṇi*, p. 60.

² *V. dh.* p. III ch. 27 cf. *nāṭyaśāstra*.

amalgamated into an expressive language, keenly alive to all those visual impressions that are on a small scale, obtrusively finite, and seem to carry their meaning expanded within their outlines, as local colour. But this ambiguity of the colour in its suggestive and descriptive faculty was clearly kept apart. While in a naturalistic and descriptive sense the sky, the atmosphere has to be painted as almost without any "special colour" (Part III, Ch. 42), the sky on the other hand¹ is of the colour of the blue lotus and wears a garment of that colour," if represented as a statue, when it should carry the sun and the moon in its hands. Colour symbolism however, underlies not only the painting of statues which, according to their sãttvic, rãjasic and tãmasic aspect had to be painted white, red or dark, but was respectively selected for rasa-chitras, the pictures of emotions, which according to the Śilparatna formed a group by themselves distinct from the realistic paintings that were resembling what actually is seen in nature and looked like a reflex in a mirror (Śilparatna, vs. 145-147). Each rasa (emotion) had to be painted in its expressive colour, the śringãra (erotic) was of śyãma hue, the laugh-exciting (hãsa) of white colour, the pathetic (karuṇa) of grey colour, the furious (rudra) of red colour, the heroic, (vira) of yellowish white colour, the fearful (bhayãnaka) of black colour, the supernatural and amazing of yellow colour and the repulsive (loathsome, bhĩbhatsã) of blue colour.²

The expressionism of colours visualizes a temperamental attitude and is concerned with the wide range of emotions. Yet side by side with it, colour in its descriptive quality was made use of to a large extent.

¹ V. dh. 62 Ch. verses 1-2.

² Nãtyasãstra, Ch. VI. verses 42-43.

It was not only known as local colour, distinctive of, and unchanging with, the various objects, but also its modifications due to light and surroundings were considered.... "Vajra said: my curiosity (runs) high and I wish to hear (more) about the true and untrue colours of water, mentioned by you. Mārkaṇḍeya replied: The untrue colour of water resembles that of lapis lazuli. It is the effect of the reflexion of the sky in the water. But the natural colour of water is seen in the falling down of water falls; it resembles moonlight.¹

The abstract and the realistic vision, which as a rule we hold apart as poles in the evolution of art, isolated from one another by gradual steps of development or by the sudden gap of reaction, are but the two sides of Indian art, contemporary and organic, for the obverse is turned towards that what lies outside, changeable, alluring in its variety and provoking observation, whilst the reverse faces the within, essentially unchangeable, because continually stirred by emotions, of which *chetanā*, the life movement is the common source. To do justice to them a language of symbols comprises colours and measurements in solemn hierarchy.²

¹ Viṣṇudharmottaram, Chapter 52, verse 10-12.

² The Viṣṇudharmottaram declares the rules for painting as valid also for sculpture, which either may be hollow or massive (Chapter 43,); worth noticing as an example of hollow sculpture is the use of skin, coated with clay and painted over. Hollow figures must have stood amongst other places also on the stage, where images of gods, demons, yakshas, elephants, horses, deer and birds were to be made of clay, wood, cloth, leather or iron (chapter 27, vs. 3-)

Measurements of the Body.

	Vishvadharmottaram		Bṛhat Saṃhitā		Sukraṇṭisūtra		Citrakakṣana		Uttamanavartāla	
	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava
Neck (width) ...	10	...	10	...	...	...	10	...	8	...
Neck (girth) ...	21	...	21	...	22	...	...	...	24	...
Width of chest between arm-pits	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...
Distance between clavicles ...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Distance between nipples ...	16	...	16	...	12	...	...	...	12	...
Girth of abdomen	42	...	42	...	...	...	...	...	42	...
Navel diameter	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Pelvis (width) ...	18	...	18	...	...	...	...	...	16	...
Pelvis (girth) ...	44	...	44	...	...	...	...	...	48	...
Scrotum (width)	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...
Penis (girth) ...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Penis (length) ...	6	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	5	...

Measurement of the legs.

	Vishnudharmottaram		Bṛhat Samhitā		Śukranṭikṣra		Citralakṣaṇa		Uttamanavāṭḍa	
	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava
The width between the lines formed by the junction of the thighs with the abdomen	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Knee (width)	8	...	8	...	...	...	8	...	...	...
Forepart of leg, beneath the knee (width)	12	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Forepart of leg, beneath the knee (length)	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Forepart of leg, beneath the knee (girth)	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Heel (width)	3	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	4	...
Heel (height)	4	...	4	...	4	...	5	...	4	...
Sole of foot (length)	12	...	12	...	...	...	8	...	...	...
" " (width)	6	...	6	...	...	...	5	...	6	...
Great toe (length)	3	...	3	...	...	...	4	...	3	...
Length of the other toes	3, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	3, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	2	...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...

Measurement of arms and hands.

	Viṣṇuḍharmanottaram		Bṛhat Saṃhitā		Śukranāṭisara		Citrakakṣhaṇa		Uttamanavataḥ	
	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava	Angula	Yava
Girth of arm round shoulder joint	16	...	16	...	16	...	...	...	16	...
Upper arm (length)	17	...	12	...	20	...	18	...	17	...
Fore arm (length)	17	...	12	...	16	...	18	...	...	...
Hand (length)	12	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	12	...
Palm (length)	7	...	7	...	7	...	7	...	7	...
Palm (width)	5	...	6	...	5	...	5	...	...	...
Middle finger (length)	5	...	...	...	5	...	5	...	5	...
Thumb (length)	3	...	...	...	3	...	4	...	...	...

TRANSLATION of Vishnudharmottaram, part III.¹

Part III. Chap. 2. Verses 1-9.

Vajra said : (Oh) sinless (one) speak to me about the making of images of Gods, so that (the deity) may remain always close by and may have an appearance in accordance with the śāstras.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : (Oh) Lord of men he who does not know properly the rules of chitra² can, by no means, be able to discern the characteristics of images.

Vajra said : (oh) propagator of the race of Bhṛgu narrate the rules of painting, as he who knows the rules of painting alone knows (its) characteristics in words.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : Without (a knowledge of) the science of dancing, the rules of painting are very difficult to be understood : Hence no work of (this) earth, (oh) king should be done even with the help of these two, (for something more has to be known).

Vajra said : Please speak to me about the science of dancing and the rules of painting you will tell me (afterwards) for, (oh) twice-born one, the rules of the science of dancing imply (those of) painting.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : The practice of (dancing) is difficult to be understood by one who is not acquainted with music. Without music dancing cannot exist at all.

Vajra said : (oh) you, who are conversant with dharma, tell (first) about music and (then) you will speak about the science of dancing (because) when (the former) is well known, (oh) best of the Bhṛgus, (a man) knows dancing too.

¹ For assisting me with the translation I am indebted to Mr. Rakhahari Chatterjee, and to Mr. Akshaykumar Maitra for many valuable suggestions.

² Chitra, i. e., sculpture in the round, relief and painting. Cf. Ch. 46, Śilparatna, and K. P. Jayaswal, a Hindu Text on Painting; Mod. Review, Vol. XXXIII.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : Without singing music cannot be understood. He who knows the rules of singing knows every thing properly.

Vajra said : (oh) best of those who support dharma, please speak to me about the science of singing as he who knows the science of singing is the best of men and knows everything.¹

Part III. Chap. 27 verses. 7-26.

(Oh) king, I shall now speak to you about the preparation of the principal colours. (Oh) best of kings there are five principal colours, *viz.*, white (śveta), red (rakta), yellow (pīta), black (kṛishṇa) and green (harit). It would be impossible to enumerate the mixed colours in this world (which are produced by) the mixture of two or three (primary colours) and through invention of various states or conditions, (*i. e.*, shades or tones.) (Oh), best of kings, I shall speak now about the division of dark (śyāma) and white (gaura), which is due to the great suitability for getting mixed, of the different colours of this world ; from which the twofold colour of all is explained (*i. e.*, the light and dark shade of every colour).

Among these (colours) white (*i. e.*, the light shade) should be of five kinds and the dark of twelve kinds. Bright (gold) light (white), tooth-white, pure-sandal-white, autumn-cloud-white and autumn-moon-white, these five traditionally are called the fivefold white (light shade).

(The varieties of śyāma) should be : reddish-dark, mudga (brownish) dark, dūrvā sprout (greenish) dark and grayish dark too (oh) king, tawny dark and topas dark, Priyangu-creeper dark and monkey dark. Then come blue-lotus (nilotpala) dark and blue as the nilakanṭha bird and purple-lotus (raktotpala) dark and cloud-dark.

¹ Here follows a lengthy account of the science of singing, its history and origin, Part III. Chap. 27.

Their application is said to be in accordance with the colours of (the respective) objects and (they) gain in beauty by intermixture of colours.

Having ascertained with precision the colours of gods I shall speak now (about them). Among them, all those of whom I shall not say anything, should be painted white. Vāsuki¹ should be of śyāma (colour) and the nāgas should be white in the dvāpara (age) and the daityas, danavas, rākṣasas, guhyakas, piśachas are of the colour of water, without any glow (*lit.* unglowing by colour). People in the six islands should be of golden colour in the continent of Jambūdvīpa, excepting one only, (namely) Bhārata, (oh) king. In Bhārata (people) born in many countries should be painted. Pulindas and the people of the Deccan are mostly dark by colour, (while) Śakas, Yavanas, Pallavas and those who are the Vālhikas born in Uttarāpatha should be predominantly white; Pāṇchālas, Śūrasenas and those who are of Magadha, Angas, Vāṅgas and Kalingas are mostly dark. Twice-born (ones) should be painted of the colour of the moon and the Kṣatriyas of the colour of the padma (while lotus). Vaiśyas again (should be) (only) slightly light in colour and Śūdras dark. Gandharvas and Apsaras are traditionally said to be and were (actually painted) in many colours. Kings and prosperous people are of the colour of the padma. The sick, the evildoers, those who are oppressed by evil stars, (or) (have) taken shelter in penance, and all family men engaged in toilsome work (should) again be dark.

The colour of things seen, should be painted resembling (their natural colouring).

Part III. Chap. 35, verses 1-18.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : From now I shall speak to you, (oh) sinless (one) about the rules of chitra. While

¹ Nāgaking.

creating Urvaśī in days of yore, the rules of chitra (were evolved) by the sage Nārāyaṇa, (oh) son of the king, for the good of the worlds. The great sage for deceiving the divine damsels (already) mentioned,¹ created the most beautiful woman, taking the juice of mango tree. By means of (the science of chitra) she was endowed with beautiful form and became the best apsara. Seeing her all the celestial nymphs went away struck with shame. The great sage having thus created (the art of) chitra, with its rules, made the immovable Viśvakarma apprehend it.

¹ Part I Chap. 129, verses 1 - 19. V. said : Tell me how Urvaśī was born and chose as husband a human king (though) of the lunar race. M. said : The two sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa (of whom I had) spoken before, were Sādhyas, sons of Dharma and these two, who were formerly kings, oh descendant of Yadu, were very powerful, being partial incarnations of Viṣṇu and were always engaged in penance. Their hermitage, charming, full of fragrant trees, auspicious with mild coolness of the winter, was called "the hermitage of Vadari." There (flowed) the Ganges carrying its warm waters cooled and looking charming with gold and garlands of pebbles and with goldsand. There (was) the Vadari, enchanting and always full of flowers and fruits. For the good of all mankind, they two, the lords of all people were engaged in severe penances there, they (who were) tigers among sages. While they were thus engaged in practising penances, apsarasas (born) of Manu, determined to cause hindrance to their penance, arrived there, wearing various ornaments. Roaming amorously and at pleasure and culling flowers they all with eyes like those of the young deer, were seen by Nārāyaṇa, who, the best as he was of those versed in the Veda, could easily discern their purpose. He who had conquered anger and the god of love, possessed of great lustre, and versed in religion and (in the proper employment of) wealth, taking the juice of a mango tree, which excites amour, created the auspicious nymph with charming limbs by painting her on his thigh. The damsel, beautifully drawn, created out of the thigh through painting, in that very moment was endowed with large eyes. No goddess, no gandharvī, no wife of an asura and no nāga-damsel, no woman like her was (to be found) in the three worlds, that beautiful maiden. Having seen her, all the ten apsarasas (born) of Manu, went away in shame. Oh king, Parandara heard all this in detail and (driven) by curiosity he came to see that Vadari hermitage. The thunder-bearing bowed to the feet of those two Sādhyas who always were (devoted to) religion and saw that (damsel) with auspicious limbs like another goddess Śrī. Then the lord Sadhya smilingly said to Nārāyaṇa : "Oh one knowing religion, this (damsel) born of thigh (urn) should be Urvaśī. Take her to heaven, she will be the most auspicious of the apsarasas. Being thus addressed he was delighted and then, duly saluting the two sages, took to heaven that goddess with eyes like those of the young deer.

In dancing as well as in chitra the imitation of the three worlds is enjoined by tradition. The eyes and the expressions, the limbs and their parts all over and the hands, have to be treated as aforesaid in dance, (oh) best of kings. They should be the same in chitra. Dancing and chitra are considered as (equally) excellent. Hence I am going to speak about that by which measurement in dancing was said (to be regulated). (But now please) listen : Fives types of men should be known, *i. e.*, Harṁsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Ruchaka and Śaśaka. I shall speak about their characteristics now. Equal in height and breadth¹ they are all to be known from (their respective) measurements. (Oh) king, the measurement of a Harṁsa is 100 aṅgulas, increased by 8, according to the measure of his own aṅgula ; a Bhadra has only six aṅgulas more (than hundred). Then (oh) king, a Mālavya is 4 aṅgulas more (than hundred). A hundred is be said to the (measurement) of a Ruchaka, and 10 aṅgulas less of a Śaśaka.

The space covered by 12 aṅgulas is called a tāla. The height of the feet up to the ankles is said to be three aṅgulas and the legs are two tālas (in measurement. The knees (in length) are equal to the feet, the thighs as long as the legs. From the navel to the penis the measure is one tāla. The same measurement (holds good) from the navel to the heart and from the heart to the throat. The throat should be one-third of a tāla and the face a tāla. The distance from the crown to the root of the hair (*lit.* between head and forehead) is said to be one-sixth of a tāla. In the middle (of the entire length of the figure) is the penis. Thus is explained the length.

¹ [*i.e.*, the length of the body is equal to the length across the chest along the outstretched arms from the tip of the right, middle-finger to that of the left ; the proportion remains the same in every case.]

The hand, (oh) king, (is) said to be a tāla (long), the arms (above the elbow) seventeen aṅgulas and the fore arms (just) as much. Half of the chest is 8 aṅgulas broad. (Oh) king, thus has been described to you the measurement of a Hamsa according to breadth.

(An artist) should infer (the measurements) of others in accordance with this. In all cases the proportion between breadth and circumference is constant, oh lord of men, (*lit.* as regards breadth and circumference they are all equal). The measurement of a Hamsa king has been told by me in outline, (oh) best of kings. (Oh) lion among kings, listen to the measurements in detail of each part of the limb to be told by me.

Part III, Chap. 36.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : now comes the division of limbs one by one. The head measures 12 aṅgulas in width. The forehead measures 8 aṅgulas and has an elevation of 4 aṅgulas. The temples measure 4 aṅgulas, their elevation (being) 2 aṅgulas. The cheeks (measure) 5 aṅgulas (in length), (and) the chin 4 aṅgulas. The ears (measure) 2 aṅgulas, their height (being) 4 aṅgulas. The middle of the ear (measures) 1 aṅgula.

The nose (measures) 4 aṅgulas, the elevation of its top (being) 2 aṅgulas, the breadth 3 aṅgulas. The nose wings are one aṅgula long and twice as high. The middle part between the nose and the (upper) lip, measures half an aṅgula, the (upper) lip an aṅgula and the mouth 4 aṅgulas (in breadth). The lower lip (is) an aṅgula and (the lower half of) the chin two aṅgulas. (There should be) 40 teeth, half of an aṅgula long, of which eight should be large teeth, $\frac{1}{12}$ th of an aṅgula in elevation ; a large tooth is one aṅgula broad. The eyes are three aṅgulas long. The black orb is $\frac{1}{3}$ d of the eye and the (width of) the pupils $\frac{1}{5}$ th. The eye-brows are three aṅgulas long and $\frac{1}{3}$ an aṅgula wide and the distance between the

two is two angulas. From the end of the eyes to the ear holes (the distance amounts to) 4 angulas. The neck is 10 angulas wide and 21 angulas in circumference. The distance between the nipples is 16 angulas and that between the clavicles 6 angulas. The circumference of the arm round the shoulder joint is 16 angulas; the palm of the hand (is) 7 angulas long, and 5 angulas broad, the whole length of the hand being 12 angulas. The middle finger (measures) 5 angulas in length. The forefinger (is) shorter by the front most part than that of the middle finger and the ring finger (is) similar. The little finger (again is) shorter by the front-most part than the ring finger. All have three knots at the same distance from one another. The nails are half the length of (the distance between) the knots. The thumb has only 2 knots and measures 3 angulas. The circumference of the abdomen is 42 angulas. The navel is one angula according to the information to be gathered from (all) known sources. The breadth of the hip (is) 18 angulas and its circumference 44 angulas. The scrotums are 4 angulas wide. As much in circumference the penis (is) 6 angulas long—from the middle of that the thighs (are) four angulas. The breadth of the knees (is) twice as much angulas in expanse.

The breadth of the forepart of the leg beneath the knee (is) thrice of that; (the length being) 5 angulas and the circumference 14 angulas. The (soles of the) feet (are) 12 angulas long and 6 angulas broad; the large toes (is) 3 angulas long. The toe next (to the large one) (is) similar to the large toe (in length) and the rest (are) less (in length) by an eighth part. The nail of the large toe (is) by a fourth part narrower than the breadth of the toe. The nail of the next toe (is) half of that, (the measure) of all other nails (is) an eighth part (less?) of that; (the sum total of?) all the toes of the feet is 8

angulas in height. The heel (should be) three angulas, its height (being) four.

This is the measurement of a Hamsa.... The measurements of the remaining best inhabitants of the earth are to be inferred in accordance with reason, by following this direction, and consistent with their own (respective) measurements.

A Hamsa should be strong, with arms like the king of serpents, with a moon-white complexion, with sweet eyes, with a beautiful face and nice waist and with swan-like movements. A Bhadra should be high-souled, of the colour of the lotus, with elephant-like step, with a hairy forehead, with full-grown and taperingly round arms. A Mālavya (is) dark like the kidney-bean,¹ with a body very beautiful on account of the slender waist, with arms reaching up to the knees, with broad shoulders, broad jaws and nose like that of an elephant (*i.e.* very prominent). A Ruchaka is said to be a truthful, high-souled, strong, and clever figure with a conch-like neck and autumn-white complexion.² A Śāsaka is said to be a clever (figure), reddish-dark and of a slightly variegated colour with full cheeks and sweet eyes.

Part III, Chap. 37, verses 1-17 :

Mārkaṇḍeya said : As there are five types of men, according to the measurement of the various limbs and their parts, so, (oh), best of men, it must be noted that there are five types of women. (Oh) lord of men, (each) women should be placed near her man. Every one (of them) should be made to reach the shoulders of the man (on her side) in proper proportion. The waist of a woman should be made 2 angulas thinner than that of a man. The hip (on the other hand) should be made wider, (by adding) 4

¹ Or Mudga pulse.

² Because the moon is whitish in autumn nights.

angulas. The breasts should be made (oh) king, charming and proportionate to the measurement of the chest.

All kings should be (made) endowed with the marks of mahāpurushas and all sovereign rulers should be (made) with webbed hands and feet. And a circle of hair should be (drawn) auspiciously between their eyebrows. On the hands of kings should certainly be drawn three beautiful auspicious lines slenderly curving and resembling the scratches (made) by a hare.

The hair should be represented auspicious, fine, resembling the deep blue sapphire, adorned by its own greasiness and with the undulation of that essential requisite.¹ (The different) classes of hair are the following: (1) Kuntala, (loose) hair, (2) Dakṣiṇāvarta, curled towards the right, (3) Taraṅga (wavy,) (4) siṃhakesara (mane like), (5) vardhara (parted) and (6) Jūṭaṭasara (matted).

An eye should be of the form of a bow or (like) the abdomen of a fish or like a petal of the blue lotus (utpala) or of the white lotus (padma), a fifth (oh) great king is said to be of the form of a grindstone.² As an eye of the form of a bow should belong to women (in general), so an eye of 4 yavas (in width) (is) called by the name of fish-abdomen. A blue-lotus-petal-eye (is) traditionally said to be 6 yavas and a red or white-lotus-petal eye is 9 yavas in measurement. So an eye of the shape of a grindstone should be 10 yavas. The measure of a yava should be calculated proportionate to the measurement of an aṅgula, which has its own standard.

¹ For aṅga in the sense of essential requisite cf. Raghuvamśa 4.59 and 3.46.

² Three words are used in three places: (1) śāna, (2) śāśa, (3) śāra, i.e., grindstone, hare, deer. 's śāśa and śāra do not yield any sense, śāna may be read in all three cases.

The eye assumes the shape of a bow when looking at the ground in meditation. (An eye) of the form of a fish-abdomen should be painted (in the case) of women and lovers. An eye of the shape of the blue lotus petal is said to be of the ever-calm. An eye of the padma-petal shape befits the frightened and crying. An eye of grindstone shape is in its place with the angry and woestricken.

Sages, ancestors (*i.e.*, manes) and gods, (oh) lord of men, should be made glowing and with ornaments consistent with their own colour and outshining (*lit.* robbing) the splendour of others who are lustrous. (Oh) best of kings, that (is) verily beautiful and devoid of crooked lines (which is) done as aforesaid with these measurements, suitable, unrepachable, in positions with various rays of light (स्थानैरेककिरणैः) on them, within (appropriate) surroundings (*lit.* fixed grounds) (स्थिरभूमिलभैः) by the exertion of (the artist's) own intellect, after he has carefully considered (everything).

Part III, Chap. 38, verses 1-28 :

Mārkaṇḍeya said : The eye (becomes) charming (when it is) like the blue lotus petal (utpalapatrābha), red at the corners and with black pupils, smiling, gentle and ending in long eye-lashes, (oh) best of men. The hands of gods, (oh) king should be conducive to the welfare of the people (*i.e.*, represented in a benevolent attitude). The eyes (should be) wide, with black pupils, adding beauty to the divine face, beautiful to look at, charming to the mind, smiling and with ends like those of blue lotus petals, with eye-lashes bent at the ends, of equal size, gentle and (with the white) of the colour of cow's milk.

The face beautiful all over should be fully developed : (it should be) well finished, benignant, marked with all

the auspicious marks, not triangular and not crooked. One who wishes good to the people should discard (a too profuse employment of) large circles, triangles and other (geometrical shapes) when representing gods. (Oh) perpetrator of the Yadu race, gods should be represented according to the Hamsa-measure. They should have hairs on their eye-lashes and eye-brows only, their body (however) should be entirely devoid of hairs. Those who live in heaven have always smiling faces and smiling eyes, and look like (youths) of the age of sixteen. They should be drawn wearing auspicious strings of garlands and ornamented by crowns, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, ornaments of the upper arm, long girdles reaching up to the ornaments on the feet, and sacred threads with ornaments for the head. Their shoulders should be broad. (Oh) tiger among men, (they) should be represented with beautiful loin-cloth on the left, reaching below the knee; the right knee (however) should be shown. The linen scarf, which the gods wear round the upper part of their body should (also) be executed beautifully. The halo should be drawn round their heads, proportionate to the measurement of the head and the colour of the halo-circle, (oh) great king, should resemble the colour of the deity. In their case an upward look, a downward look and also a sideward look should be discarded. The same applies to a too small, to a too big, to a depressed (looking) to an angry and harsh eye. It is said that look upward causes death, look downward causes sorrow, sideward look causes loss of wealth, too small eyes cause death, too large eyes cause sorrow and so do the depressed (looking) eyes, (oh) best of Kings. A harsh look causes loss of wealth and an angry look causes fear. (The image of a deity) should not be done with either shrunk or inflated abdomen or with wounds (on the body, oh) perpetrator of the

Yadu race. (It should not be) bent, of a rough colour, with an open mouth, or with limbs short of, or exceeding (appropriate) measurement, (oh) descendant of Yadus. (It should not fall) short of, or exceed (the prescribed) measurement, (oh) ruler of the earth. (cf. v. 6, ante, where it is said that images of gods should have the measurement of a Haṁsa). A shrunk abdomen is conducive to starvation and fear, and an inflated abdomen causes death. A body with wounds causes death, one that is too short brings about loss of wealth, one too long creates sorrow, and one with rough colour conduces to fear. (An image) with open mouth brings about the destruction of the whole race; nor should it be bent. A halo in the east causes loss of wealth, in the south death, in the west destruction of sons, in the north fear. (*i.e.* it ought to be behind and round the head). A nimbus short of measurement leads to destruction and one exceeding the appropriate measurement bespeaks ruin to the country. A rough (image) is said to cause death and an angry (one) destroys beauty. Even when (duly) invoked by the best of Brahmins, the gods never enter images short of (śāstric) measurements and devoid of the marks (lakṣaṇas) (of divine form); (but) demons, ghosts and hob-goblins always enter into them; and so great care should be taken to avoid shortness of measurements. (An image) possessed of all the beautiful marks is said to be excellent from every point of view. It adds to wealth, crops, fame and the length of life, yet when devoid of (those) marks (it) destroys wealth and crops, (oh) best of kings; gods always should be made beautiful, having gaits (like one of the following) animals, (*viz.*) the lion, the bu'l, the elephant and the swan. Blessed (is) a work of art (endowed) with all (the śāstric) marks, (as it brings luck) to the country, to the king and the maker (and is as the gods)

long for it. An image, therefore, should be properly made by all men with great care, (endowed) with all (the śāstric) marks.

Part III. chap. 39. verses 1-32.

There are nine positions of variegated colours, with auspicious forms and gestures. Please listen to (all of) them in due order. The first should be the straight position (*lit.* derived from the straight, *ṛijvāgatam*, (ऋज्वागत') the second (is) the non-straight (*anṛiju*), (अनृज्जु) then with a bent body (*sāchīkṛitaśarīram*) (साचीकृतशरीरं). Then comes (the position) with one eye (*lit.* with half eyes) (*ardhaviḷochanam*), (अर्धविलोचनम्) after that comes the side-view (*lit.* derived from the side, *pārśvāgatam*) (पार्श्वगत') Then comes the "cheek-turned" position (*parāvṛittam*), (परावृत्त')¹ then the back view, *lit.* derived from the back (*piśṭhāgatam*), (पृष्ठागत') and (finally) the "turned round" position *parivṛittam*² (परिवृत्त') and then (the one which is) thoroughly bending (*samānatam*) (समानत').

In painting (*bhūṣhite*), these positions with many transitions (*lit.* distinctions) (from one to the other) are nine (altogether); now, (oh) king, hear from me, one by one, (what is) the nature of each of them (and how) it comes into existence.

The preeminent position amongst those (mentioned) in the beginning (of our enumeration) has a beautiful appearance³ which is due to a (static) posture called *ṛiju*. In this way it is accompanied by the various organs of sense.⁴ A very pleasing body, well finished and accompanied by distinct qualities of measurement

¹ The text has *Purāvṛittam*, a copyist's slip for *Parāvṛittam*. Cf. verses 20-24.

² The text has *Purāvṛittam* which must be changed to *Parivṛittam*. cf. v. 26-28.

³ Read instead of *Kāntā rūpaṃ* *Kānta rūpaṃ*.

⁴ i.e., in this way all the organs of sense (the 2 eyes, mouth, nose, ears) are visible.

(i.e. well proportioned), very fine (in execution) and shaded with ornamental display of light and shade, faces the spectator; very pure, charming and adorned by manifold lines and embellishments, the portions on the back should be without forshortening (*lit.* diminished limbs).¹ The front view, face, chest and abdomen should also remain unforshortened, (undiminished) (The figures), (oh) intelligent one, grow narrower (*lit.* have attained thinness,) towards the waist from the thighs (as well) as from the shoulders. Their nose-wings and lips appear forshortened by a fourth part of their width (*lit.* a fourth part of nosewings and lips has been reduced to decay) and their limbs are forshortened by a third part (of their breadth).²

(3) What (looks) charming, due to the attainment of a curved posture (*tirjak*), well rounded, tender, all over (*lit.* all the four parts being) slender and conducive to (the beauty of all the limbs) is called, oh king, bent, on account of imitating the sky. (Its characteristics are:) Half of the eyes and of the forehead and also of the nose (are) shown. The eye that represents the half that remains after division (i.e. the one eye that is to be seen in profile) is forshortened (*lit.* suppressed) by artistic means and the eyebrow is also artistically suppressed (i.e., forshortened) and (is) painted with gentle lines. The face is neither straight nor irritating, neither black nor shady.

(4) The next position is called "adhyardhāksham." (*अर्धार्धक्ष*) i. e., 'ardhavilochanam' (with one eye). The signs were as follows and have a specific character. One eye in the face of the figure is shown (in full), half of the eyebrows are suppressed (i. e., one eyebrow

¹ i.e., the back should be quite straight.

² The second position 'anrīju' is not described; it is the reverse of the first one.

is not to be seen). The forehead and one eyebrow are visible, (*lit.* the only essential part of the rest of the face [that is] to be seen is the curve of the forehead in half its usual size and the curve of the eyebrow). The next visible part is half of the cheek from one side only while the other half is invisible, (*lit.* suppressed). Half of the usual length (*lit.* measure) of the lines on the throat and a yava only of the chin are shown. The navel, one angula-less than the opening of the mouth, and three quarters (*lit.* half and half of that half) of the waist and other (parts) should be shown.

(5) That position occasionally is called *chhāyāgatam*, (छायागतं) *i.e.*, coming out of the shade, whose side is seen, either the right or the left, whose limbs and movements enter into quite a new (*lit.* different) constellation, of whom one eye only, one eyebrow, one temple, one ear and half of the chin and the hair should be (shown) and which is possessed of qualities like sweetness, grace, and proper proportion. It is (also) called “derived from the side (*parśvāgatam*.) (पार्श्वगतं) It should also be called : “on the wall” (*bhittikam*) (भित्तिकं).

(6) This position is said to be “turned back by the cheek” (*gaṇḍāparāvṛttam*) (गण्डपरावृत्तं) whose limbs are not very sharply (delineated); it has appropriate measurement in (proper) place and has attained *kṣaya* (diminution) called “dark” in forehead, cheek and arm and also in the throat,—(*i.e.* these parts are vaguely discernible, as, they are lying in the shade)—(which is) artistically forshortened (*lit.* made slender)¹ and looks tender.

(7) In pictures and wall paintings, (that) is traditionally called “derived from the back” (*prsthāgatam*) which reveals a bodily frame attractive towards the back, with

¹ Read instead of *Kalakshīṇe*, *Kalākshīṇe* (artistically slender).

muscles and joints like those of Śiva (Sarvajña) with a tortuous frown,—very calm and pleasing to the eye. One side only is seen; the chest, (one) cheek and the outer corner of the eye are only faintly shown. It is possessed of qualities like sweetness (mādhurya) and grace (lāvanya) and has (its appropriate) measurement.

(8) (A figure) whose upper part of the body should be turning back and only half to be seen on account of its reversed position with a face tainted by envy, whose upper and lower portion of the body should be somewhat lost in shade towards the front (while) the (lower) half (of the body) should be like that of a rustic, whose middle (is drawn) properly forshortened and agreeable to the eye, should be known as “turned round” (“Parivṛttam”) and should be represented for (the purpose of) upholding (?), (oh) lord of men.

(9) But what is drawn with the buttocks in full view, with the soles of the feet joined, with half of the body faintly seen from above, with the part about the entire waist shown, with the two entire soles shown, with forshortened lower part of the toes, beautiful all round, well finished, not terrible-looking, with arms visible and head and trunk well joined, and bent down towards the legs, (*lit.* suppressed towards a part of the legs) (is known) by the name of Samānatam (thoroughly bending).

Part III, Chap. 39, verses, 34-51.

These positions should be drawn with care (accompanied), by qualities like māna (proportionate measurement, etc. (Oh) blameless (one), these nine positions (are) seen in all conditions. There is none besides and superior to these. I—who have always moved around the world, inhabited by creatures moveable and immoveable —(oh) sinless one, narrated in entirety the group of three, *i.e.*, kṣaya, (decrease), vṛddhi (increase) and

pramāṇa (proportionate measurement). (These again are) of two kinds, chitra (simple) and vichitra (variegated); (the latter) again is of three kinds according to the good result (obtained by) proportionate measure, whether it be uttama (full), madhya (middling) and adhama (small). Now I shall relate to you by degrees the rule (to be observed) in kṣaya and vṛiddhi (decrease and increase). This vṛiddhi as well as kṣaya, (being) without any (other) name known to the painters, and having (their) origin in the body and its various limbs, is said succinctly to be of thirteen varieties (here) and (varies) otherwise according to the manifoldness of the positions (*lit.* of manifestation). (The thirteen positions are):¹ visible from the back (prsthāgatam) and belonging to the straight (rijvāgatam) then "half and half" (ardhārdham), "quartered middle" (madhyārdhārdham) and the "bent face" (sācī-kṛitamukham), bent (natam), "turned back by the cheek" (gaṇḍaparāvṛittam), and "derived from the back" (prsthāgatam). Then should be known the position "derived from the side" (pārsvāgatam), as also "painted as going upwards" (ullepam) and "moving" (chalitam), and lastly "with the face upwards" (uttānam) and "turned round" (balitam). (Oh) king, all these positions are clearly indicated (*lit.* should be known) by their names. Herein the positions of the feet (are varied) by a series of motions like pratyālīkha (*i.e.*, with the left knee advanced and the right knee retracted), vaiśākha, (*i.e.*, with feet a span apart). The legs again are straight or half straight, standing or moving. The positions of the straight and non-straight legs should be of two kinds. Thus the position characterised by legs standing is traditionally called samapadaṁ (straight-leg), (while) the second (type) should be maṇḍalam (in circular motion).

¹ The thirteen positions are an interpolation. The first and the eighth position moreover are identical.

Other positions than these are with one leg straight, varied and unsteady. Among these are vaiśākha, (the feet being a span apart), ālīḍha, the right knee advanced and the left leg retracted, and pratyālīḍha the left knee advanced, the right one retracted, those being (typical) positions of the bowmen. Uneven motion in curves characterises the sword—and shield—carriers. Persons carrying a pike, a spear, (with bamboo handle) a stone javelin, a sting and other instruments walk with difficulty and with one leg in ālīḍha position. (Persons) who carry wheel, a spear, a club and a (steel) javelin walk (in a sort of) gallop. The flight (*lit.* running away) of stout men is in some cases depicted with one leg in a straight position and with the other (placed in such a way that) the wanton body should be (shown) with the neck stretched forward. The learned painter should paint a female figure with one foot calmly advanced, with the part about the hips and loins broad and flurried, on account of amorous dalliance. A figure devoid of pramāṇa (proportionate measure) is bound to suffer in the opinion of the passing ages and their (varying) taste inclinations (*lit.* through the force of time and sentiment). Having this in mind, proportionate measurement should be employed by a learned artist with (the help of) his own intellect, in unison with kṣaya and vṛiddhi.

Part III, Chap. 40, Verses 1-30.

Brick powder of three kinds has to be mixed with clay, one third part (in amount of the brick powder). Having mixed saffron with oil (one) should mix (*lit.* place) (with it) gum resin, bees wax, liquorice, molasses and mudga² preparation in equal parts. One-third part of

² *Phaseolus munga* Murukam most probably in a mistake for mudgakam. Cf. *Silparatna*. Ch. 46.

burnt yellow-myrobalan should be added therein. Finally the astringent made of the Bel-tree (*Feronia elephantum*) destructive (of all injurious agents) mixed in the proportion of two to one should be added by an intelligent artist and also a portion of sand, proportionate to the amount of the whole. Then the artist should drench (this mixture) with moist split pulse dissolved in water. The whole of this moist preparation has to be kept in a safe place for one month only. (After) the moisture has evaporated within a month a skilful (artist) should put (this) dried (yet still damp) plaster on the wall, having carefully considered (everything). It should be plain, even, well distributed, without ridges or holes, neither too thick nor too thin. Should it (look) ill done after having become (quite) dry (due to shrinkage), then it ought to be carefully smoothed by coatings of plaster (made) of that clay (as mentioned before) mixed with resin of the Śāl-tree (*Shorea robusta*) and with oil. (It is further made) smooth by (repeated) anointing, constant sprinkling with water and by careful polish. (O) lord, when this wall has promptly dried, it does not go to ruins anywhere even at the end of a hundred years.

By this means various jewelled floors can be made of variegated texture in twofold colours. In painting with care on a wall, dry, brilliant and smooth, an artist devoted to his master, should begin his work on an auspicious day, with his face towards east, thinking of Gōd, having worshipped and bowed down to Brahmins and preceptors who know this (*i.e.*, painting) well, uttering svasti (success!), clad in a white garment and restrained in his soul. Then the learned artist should draw (outlines) with unoozing black and white brushes in due order and fix them on the duly measured ground. These then should be filled with colours in appropriate places. Green as well as white is the colour in general (applied as first

coating ?). (One) should show that (very clearly). The characteristics of that (*i.e.* of the colours) (already) had been described in detail (Chap. 27, verses 7-26.) Primary colours are said to be five: white, yellow, of the colour of the emblic myrobalan, black and blue. (Oh) best of kings, intermediate (colours) are traditionally said to be hundred-fold. (But an artist) should (*lit.* divide) mix the primary (*lit.* full) colours according to his own logic and imagination and make thousandfold (what is) hundredfold. If the blues are transformed a great deal, green colour is produced. It is either pure, with an admixture of white, or blue-predominating. One or more (of these shades) are (used) as it is suitable to the (special) painting. Blue (too) is of three kinds: with white predominating, with very little white or with both in equal parts. Thus it is variously transformed by being connected with any thing applied as an astringent. Thus beautiful (*lit.* auspicious) paintings should be made yellowish like the dūrvā sprouts, green like the wood apple and dark like the kidney-bean. Blue tinged with yellowish-white (becomes) changed in colour and of various kinds according as either of the two (constituents) is (present) in greater or smaller degree or in equal parts. For that reason the blue-lotus-colour (nilotpalanibhā) appears beautiful when partly shaded dark like the māṣa. By proper selection and distribution of colours paintings become delightful. A painting in red and dark like the red lotus (raktotpala) becomes beautiful when combined with white lac, covered by a coating of lac and resin. The latter also transforms various other colours.

(Oh) king, colouring articles are gold, silver, copper, mica, deep coloured brass, red lead, tin, yellow orpiment, yellow myrobalan, lac, vermillion and indigo too, oh best of men. There are many other similar colouring substances, oh great king, in every country; they should

be prepared with an astringent. A fluid should be made of iron leaves. A mica defile placed in iron should serve as a distiller. In this way iron becomes suitable for painting. In the (work called) Surasendrabhumiya a decoction of hides was said to be a distiller of mica. . . . In the case of all colours the exudation of the Sindūra tree is desirable. A painting, firmly drawn with a magnificent hairy brush (*lit.* tail) on a canvas (dipped in) the juice of the best dūrvā grass cannot be destroyed and remains (intact) for many years though washed by water.

Part III, Chap. 41, verses 1-15 :

Mārkaṇḍeya said : Painting is said to be of four kinds —(1) “true” (to life) (satyam) (2) “of the lute player” (vainīkam) (3) “of the city” or “of common man” (nāgaram) and (4) mixed (miśram). I am going to speak about their character (now). Whatever painting (bears) a resemblance to this earth, with proper proportion tall in height, with a nice body, round and beautiful, is called “true (to life).” That is called vainī kam (which) is rich in the display of postures, maintaining strict proportions, placed in an exactly square field, not phlegmatic not (very) long and well finished. That painting should be known as nāgaram, which is round, with firm and well developed limbs with scanty garlands and ornaments. (Oh) best of men the miśram derived its name from being composed (of the three categories).

Methods of producing light and shade are said to be three:—

(1) Crossing lines (*lit.* lines in the form of leaves, patraja), (2) by stumping (airika) (3) by dots (vinduja). The first method (of shading) was called (patraja) on account of lines in the shape of leaves. The “airika” method we call so because (it is) said to be very fine. The

"vinduja" method was called so from the restrained (*i.e.*, not flowing) handling of the brush.

Indistinct, uneven and inarticulate delineation, representation of the human figure with lips (too) thick, eyes and testicles (too) big, and unrestrained (in its movements and actions) such are the defects of *chitra* (pictorial art). Sweetness, variety, spaciousness of (back) ground (*bhūlamba*), proportionate to the position (*sthāna*) (of the figure), similarity (to what is seen in nature), (and) minute execution are mentioned to be the (good) qualities of *chitra*. (Oh) best of men, in works of *chitra* delineation, shading, ornamentation and colouring should be known as decorative (*i.e.* as the elements of visualisation). The masters praise the *rekhas* (delineation and articulation of forms) the connoisseurs praise the display of light and shade, women like the display of ornaments, the rest of the public like richness of colours. Considering this, great care should be taken in the work of *chitra*, so that (oh) best of men, it may be appreciated by every one. Bad seat, thirst, inattentiveness, and bad conduct are the root evils (in the painter) that destroy painting. In a work of painting the ground should be well chosen, well covered, very delightful, pleasant in every direction and its surface (*lit.* space) should be well coated (*lit.* annointed). A painting should be then very beautiful, when a learned (artist) paints it with golden colour, with articulate and (yet) very soft lines, with distinct and well arranged garments and lastly not devoid of the beauty of (proportionate) measurement.

Part III. chap. 42, verses 1-84.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : A king (ruler of the earth) is to be depicted just like a god. In the case of kings (however) the hair on the body should be drawn one by one. Sages,

gandharvas, daityas, dānavas, ministers, the brahmins (in general), Saṁvatsara (*i. e.*, Śiva), and the family priest (purohita) should have the size of a Bhadra, (oh) lord of men. Sages should be represented with long tresses of hair clustered on the top of their head, with a black antelope-skin as upper garment, emaciated, yet full of splendour. Gods and gandharvas should be represented without crowns but with crests (oh) great king! Brahmins should be represented with white garments, and emitting divine splendour, (oh) great king. An artist should draw ministers, Saṁvatsara, and the family priest adorned with all ornaments and diadems. Daityas and dānavas should have frightening mouths, frowning faces, round eyes and (one) should represent them with gaudy garments though without crown. Oh lord of the earth, their dress should be of the uddhata style (haughty). (Oh) King, Vidyādhara should be of the size of a "Rudra"¹ with garlands and ornaments and accompanied by their wives. They should be shown either on land or in the air and with swords in their hands. Kinnaras, rāksasas and nāgas should be of the size of a "Mālavya." (Oh) lord of men, yakṣas (should have) the size of a "Ruchaka." (The artist) should represent the chief amongst men with the size of a Śaśaka. Piśāchas, dwarfs, hunch-backed men, pramathas and (those) who enjoy the earth, should be represented consistent with the rules of (proportionate) measurement and in accordance with the rules of rūpa (creative form). The females are traditionally said to be suited to the measure (of the male type). Kinnaras are said to be of two kinds, (some) with human faces and horse bodies, and others again are said to be with horse-faces and human bodies. Those with horse-faces should be decorated with all ornaments, with splendour and musical instruments.

¹ Printing mistake for Bhadra.

Rākṣasas should look terrible with the hair erect and bewildered eyes. The nāgas should be fashioned in the shape of the gods (with the difference that) they should wear snake hoods. All yakshas are said to be decorated with ornaments and they have been dealt with by me (already). No special measure is fixed for the pramathas among the suras (*i. e.*, gods) nor for the piśāchas. Gaṇas among the gods should have the faces of various creatures and should wear various sorts of dresses and weapons, engaged in various pastimes and sports, (oh) great king. But the gaṇas of Viṣṇu should all have the same outward appearance, and still there should be made four divisions of them. The gaṇas of Vāsudeva should be represented shining and similar to Vāsudeva. The gaṇas of Saṁkarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha again are similar to each of them and carry the weapon (of the special manifestation of Viṣṇu) and his expression. Prostitute women should have the size of a "Ruchaka." (They should be painted) with vermillion or emerald colour, moonwhite (in complexion) or dark like the petals of the blue lotus. The dress of prostitutes should be unrestrained (uddhata), calculated to excite erotic feeling. Women of good family should be made bashful and of the size of a "mālavya" wearing ornaments and not very showy dresses. The wives and mothers of daityas, dānavas, yakṣas and rākṣasas ought to be according to the rules (laid down for their men). The same holds good for the wives of piśachas. Widows are to be shown with grey (hair) wearing white clothes and devoid of all ornaments. A hunch-backed, a dwarfish and an old woman also should be (represented) in (their) natural condition. Amongst a host of royal wives an old chamberlain should be represented.

A vaiśya should be of the size of a "Ruchaka" and a śūdra of the size of a śaśaka. (Oh) lord of men, these two should (have) dresses suitable to their caste. Wives of

daityas should always have attendant women. By one who knows painting, the commander of an army should be represented (as) strong proud, tall, with fleshy shoulders, hand and neck, with big head, powerful chest, prominent nose and broad chin, with eyes raised up towards the sky, and with firm hips. (Oh) great king, soldiers should generally be painted with frowns on their faces. Foot-soldiers should be represented with short and showy uniforms; they should have arrogant looks and carry weapons. Swordsmen and shieldmen should be of the *karnāṭaka* type. The good archers and bowmen should have naked legs. Their dress should not be very short and they should wear shoes. Elephants, horses and such other animals should be possessed of the marks described. Elephant-riders should have a swarthy complexion, their hair should be tied in a knot, they should wear ornaments as well. The uniform of the cavalry should be of the northern type. Bards should have a resplendent dress, their look should be directed upward and the veins on their neck should be shown; heralds should be drawn tawny and squint-eyed, slightly resembling the *danavas*, and as a rule carrying staffs in their hands. In a fight (one) should not represent the squint-eyed and the tawny (heralds). The doorkeeper is known by the sword hanging by his side. He holds a staff in his hand, does not look very mild and his dress is not too conspicuous. Merchants should be represented with their heads covered on all sides by turbans. Musicians, dancers and those who can correctly regulate the sound of musical instruments should wear a gorgeous dress, (oh) best of men. The most respectable people of country and town should be painted with almost grey hair, adorned with ornaments suitable to their rank, wearing white garments, stooping forwards, ready to help and with a mien calm by

nature. Artisans should be represented eager in the pursuit of their respective crafts. Wrestlers should be drawn with broad shoulders, fleshy limbs, thick neck, head and lips, with closely cropped hair, arrogant and impetuous. Bulls, lions and other animals should be represented in appropriate surroundings as they are seen in nature, (oh) lord of men. I have given hitherto the full description of the appearance of objects not (usually) seen. Things that usually are visible to all, should be represented well resembling (what is seen in nature). The chief (aim) of painting is to produce an exact likeness. Men should be painted according to their country; their colour, dress and (general) appearance should be well observed. Having carefully ascertained the country, employment and place (of occupation) and the work (a man is engaged in), seat, bed, conveyance and dress should be drawn (correspondingly), (oh) lord of men.

Rivers should be represented in human form, with their conveyances (vāhanas). Their knees should be bent and their hands should hold full pitchers. (Oh) best of men, in representing mountains an artist should show the peak on the head (of the personification). The representation of islands makes the earth beautiful. (Oh) best of men, seas should be drawn with hands carrying jewel—vessels, and (the artist) should depict water in the place of the halo and further he should partially show the signs of weapons on their heads. When representing a tank (the artist) should show a pitcher and when representing a conch-shell, (he shall show) a conch-shell. (Oh) best of kings, of a lotus, a lotus (should be depicted) and of all other things representations (should be drawn) resembling (what is seen in nature). Every part of the object to be represented should agree with the general treatment of the whole object. Of divine beings an artist should show as a distinctive mark the rosary and the book.

Now I am going to speak about the appearance of things actually seen. A learned (artist) should show the sky without any special colour and full of birds (oh) king, similarly (the artist) should show the firmament adorned by stars and the earth with its vegetation in all its variety (*lit.*: with all its distinctive attributes). (Oh) best of kings, (an artist) should show a mountain by a cluster of rocks, peaks, (with) metal (-veins) trees, waterfalls and snakes. A learned (artist) should show a forest by various sorts of trees, birds and beasts. (He should show) water by innumerable fishes and tortoises, by lotuses and other aquatic animals and plants. A learned (artist) should show a city by beautiful temples, palaces, shops, houses and lovely royal roads. An artist should show a village by its boundaries containing sparingly gardens. Fortresses should be shown with battlements, ramparts, high mounts and entrances in their enclosures. Markets should be shown containing articles of merchandise; drinking places should be represented full of men engaged in drinking, and those engaged in gambling should be drawn devoid of upper garments,—the winners merry and the losers full of grief. The battlefield has to be shewn as containing four divisoins of the army (*i.e.*, elephant corps, cavalry, chariot corps and infantry), with soldiers engaged in fighting, strewn with corpses and besmeared with blood. The burning ground should be represented with funeral piles and dead bodies. (A painter) should represent a road, with caravans consisting of camels and other (animals) carrying burdens. The night should be shown with moon, planets and stars, with approaching thieves and men (fast) asleep and others engaged in wordly pleasures (*lit.*, showing what is of the world.) In the first part of the night women are to be shown going out to meet their lovers. The (breaking of the) dawn is to be shown by the rising sun, the lamps

(looking) dim and crowing cocks. Or a man should be drawn as if ready for work. The evening is to be shown by its red glow and by brahmins engaged in controlling their senses. The (setting in) of darkness has to be shown by men approaching their abodes. That the moon is shining should be shown by the kumuda flower in full bloom, while the many petals of the lotus flower should be closed. When depicting a shower of rain, (that it is) raining should be shown by a man well covered. That the sun is shining should be shown by (drawing) creatures suffering from heat. (An artist) should represent spring with merry men and women, by "laughing" vernal trees, with bees swarming about and cuckoos.

The summer has to be shown with dried pools, with languid men, with deers seeking the shade of trees, and buffaloes burying themselves in mud. An artist should show the rainy season by flashes of lightning, beautified by rainbows accompanied by heavily laden clouds, birds perched on trees and lions and tigers sheltered in caves. A painter should paint the autumn with trees heavy with fruits, the earth (covered) with ripe corn (-fields) and with tanks beautified by lotuses and swans. The "dewy" season (hemanta, the approach of winter) a learned artist should show by frost on the horizon, with the earth lopped (of her crops) and the ground covered by dew-drops. A learned (painter) should paint the winter with the horizon shrouded in hoar-frost, with shivering men and delighted crows and elephants.

(Oh) lord of men seasons should be represented by trees in flowers and fruits and creatures delighted (or otherwise) and by looking at nature. Sentiments and expressions should be represented as spoken of already. (An artist) should also suitably employ herein what was said about dancing.¹ A painting in which an object is devoid of

¹ In another Chapter of the Vishṇudharmottaram.

shading (varttanā) is called 'mediocre,' (madhyamam). A picture which in some parts is shaded and in others remains without shading is 'bad,' (adhamam). A picture shaded all over is 'good' (uttamam). (A painting in which) everything is drawn in an acceptable (form) in its proper position, in its proper time and age, becomes excellent, while in the opposite case it becomes (quite) different. A painting drawn with care, pleasing to the eye, thought out with supreme intelligence and remarkable by its execution, beauty, charm (*lit.* amorous pastime), taste, and such other qualities, yields the desired pleasure.

Part III, Chap. 43, verses 1-39.

Mārkaṇḍeya said: The sentiments (rasa) represented in painting are said to be nine, *viz.*, śṛiṅgāra (erotic), hāsyā (laugh-exciting), karuṇā (pathetic), vīra (heroic), roudra (furious), bhayānaka (fearful), bibhatsa (loathsome), adbhūta (strange and supernatural) and śānta (peaceful).

That which shows beauty and nicety of delineation of form, and dress and ornaments according to the taste of the learned, becomes the śṛiṅgāra rasa. Whatever is dwarf-like, hunch-backed, or otherwise deformed in appearance with unnecessary shortness of hands should be laugh-exciting in sentiment. (A painter) should depict in the "pathetic sentiment" what is pity-exciting in adversity, sale, abandonment, separation, mendicancy and such other circumstances. Harshness, anger, slaughter—these things befit the "roudra" in which there should be flashing weapons and bright ornaments. Display of prowess arising out of a firm determination, coupled with the look of nobleness, with perhaps a smile on the lips, and a slight frown appertains to the "heroic." Wicked, hard-looking and almost mad vindictiveness, bent on killing appertains to the fearful rasa of painting. That painting

(which depicts) a terrible position (*i.e.* a scene of execution) and (is) loathsome on account of the (representation of the) cremation ground, should be the best of all paintings in (showing) the *bībhatsa* sentiment. Whenever (a painting) depicts (lit. shows) thought and a slight horripilation (and) the submissive face of Tarkshya and other (similar figures), it is indicative of the *adbhūta* sentiment. Whatever is shown benign in appearance, in meditation, and in postures and seats suited to the same, full of ascetic people, appertains to the *śānta* rasa.

Pictures to embellish homes should belong to *śringāra*, *hāsyā* and *śānta* rasa. The rest should never be used (in the house) of anyone. (But) in the palace of a ruler and in the temple of a god all the sentiments may be represented. (Yet these representations) should not be made in the residential quarters of the ruler. They should however be painted in that part of the palace of kings which is occupied by the assembly houses. Except in assembly (halls) of kings and in temples, the inauspicious, (as for instance) bulls with horns (immersed) in the sea, and (men) with their hands (sticking out of) the sea (whilst their) body (is) bent (under water), men (with) ugly features, or those inflicted by sorrow due to death and pity, war and the burning ground, should never be depicted. (Oh) great king, *Vidyādhara*s, the nine gems¹ sages, *Garuḍa*, *Hanumān* and all those who are celebrated as auspicious on the earth, should always be painted in the residential houses of men. (Oh) king in one's own house the work of painting should not be done by oneself. Weakness or thickness of delineation, want of articulation, improper juxtaposition of colours are said to be defects of painting. (Proper) position, proportion and

¹ The nine gems of *Kuvera*, *i.e.*, *Padma*, *Mahā Padma*, *Śaṅkha*, *Makara*, *Kachhapa*, *Mukunda*, *Kunda*, *Nīla*, and *Kharba*.

spacing, gracefulness and articulation, resemblance, decrease and increase (kṣaya and vṛiddhi) (*i. e.*, foreshortening) these are known as the eight (good) qualities of painting. Painting which has not (the proper) position, devoid of (the appropriate) rasa, empty to look at, hazy with darkness and devoid of life-movement (chetanā)—is said to be inexpressive. One that seems as if dancing by its posture or appears to look frightened, laughing or graceful, thereby appears as if endowed with life, as if breathing. These pictures are (considered) of an auspicious type. (A painter) should make his (painting) to be without darkness and emptiness. No (painting depicting) a, figure with defective limbs, covered all over with hair, overwhelmed with fear due to internal disease, or smeared with a yellow pigment (ought to be executed). An intelligent artist paints what looks probable (*lit.* what commands trust), but never what transcends it. (Oh) lord of men, a painting (by) the skilled, the righteous and those (who are) versed in the śāstras brings on prosperity and removes adversity very soon. A painting cleanses and curbs anxiety, augments future good, causes unequalled and pure delight, kills the evils of bad dreams and pleases the household deity. The place where a picture is firmly placed does not look empty.

He who paints waves, flames, smoke and streamers fluttering in the air according to the movement of the wind should be considered a great painter. He knows chitra who makes one portion of the body lower than the other,¹ who (represents) the dead devoid of life-movement and the sleeping possessed of it. In painting (one) should carefully avoid, in the case of all these, placing one (figure) in front of another. In every case (their) regular succession is praise worthy.

¹ To suggest the 3rd dimension.

Oh lord of men, the same rules as applied to painting also refer to carving in iron, gold, silver, copper and other metals, and also (to) images made of iron, stone and wood. The same rules that are valid for painting are also applied to clay-modelling. It is said to be of two kinds: ghana and suśira, massive and hollow. Iron, stone, wood and clay may be worked massively; skin, brass, and iron may be worked hollow. (In the latter case) a thick superimposition of clay has to be given to the skin and the painting has to be executed on it as on a canvas.

In this treatise only suggestions were given (oh king), for (the subject) could never be described in detail even in many hundred years. Whatever had not been said here, should be inferred from (the rules of) dancing, (oh) lord of the earth; whatever is not noted in (the rules of) dancing should not be made use of here (either), (though) it be interesting, (oh) lord of men.

Painting is the best of all arts, conducive to dharma, and emancipation. It is very auspicious when placed in a house. As Sumeru is the best of mountains, Garuḍa, the chief of birds, and a lord of the earth the most exalted amongst men, so is painting the best of all arts.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.

A Historical Study of the Terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

By

R. KIMURA.

Introductory Note.

From various points of view, Buddhism has been divided into several features with different terms according to different schools in different countries, as:— “Northern and Southern Buddhism,” “Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism,” “Guhyayāna and Vyaktoyāna,” and “Sahajayāna and Kāṭhinayāna,” etc.

Through these terms different features of Buddhism have been characterized. However, among them, the most important and at the same time of common application to all Buddhist communities in the world are the terms “Northern and Southern” and the terms “Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.” The former is ‘geographical’ and it has been formed by European scholars of Buddhism in modern times, while the latter is ‘doctrinal’ and it has been formed by men of a certain school of Buddhism in ancient times; as these are found in the oldest Mahāyāna sūtras which existed before the time of Nāgārjuna (who flourished about the latter half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century A.D.). These terms are more important than the former, in order to understand the doctrines of Buddhism as well as its history after king Piyadasi Aśoka. For these reasons, there have been attempts by several scholars of Buddhism in the East as well

as in the West, to explain them.¹ They have written on this subject, yet much still remains to be done. For a proper and thorough study of this most important problem we should re-state the whole position anew and try to reach any final conclusion, if possible. Therefore, as the aim of this thesis, my humble self would make an attempt to give a clear explanation on the same subject dealing with a historical study of the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In order to understand the subject well and many other important problems of Buddhism involved in it, we shall discuss in this introductory note, first, in short, the Geographical terms, and then we shall take up more fully the doctrinal terms of Buddhism, because the latter are of the most important significance for our purpose, and at last we will discuss the other said terms too, as the adjunct terms of doctrine.

*I. The terms "Northern and Southern"—
Geographical Division of Buddhism.*

As I have told you, this naming was made by European Buddhist scholars after the discovery of many Mahāyāna Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal by Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson in the beginning of the last century.²

¹ Dr. Eyun Mayeda has a discourse on this subject in his "Historical Discourse of Mahāyāna Buddhism," p. 117. (in Japanese).

Dr. Bun-zabura, Matsumoto, Prof., Kyoto Imperial University, in a paper appearing in the Buddhist daily newspaper "the Chugai-Nippo," Sunday, July, 27, 1919.

Dr. T. Suzuki, in his "Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism."

Dr. L. de La Vallée Poussin in his learned article in the E. R. E., Vol. 8, pp. 328-336.

Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in J. R. A. S. 1900, pp. 29 ff.

² Full account of his biography and his works has been given in the preface of Nepalese Buddhist literature of Dr. R. Mitra, 1882, Calcutta, and in the preface of Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in the Cambridge library, by C. Bendal, 1883, etc.

In the year 1833 in January he was appointed as the Resident of Kathmandu, Nepal, and he continued in the same post from that time up to the close of 1843.

During this period he discovered a great number of Sanskrit Buddhist works in manuscripts, the total number being 381 bundles. As many of you know, these have been distributed to various learned Societies like the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Royal Asiatic Society, London; India Office Library; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Societe Asiatique and M. Burnouf and the Bibliotheque Nationale of France.¹

The existence of these Mahāyāna Sanskrit manuscripts was perfectly unknown before this time not only to Europe, China, Japan but even to India itself. However, this discovery has entirely revolutionised the history of Buddhism, because, up to that time Buddhist scholars of Europe and even of India had the idea that all the Buddhist Canons were written in Pāli. It was only after this discovery that they came to know that there were other Buddhist Canons which were written in Sanskrit as well as mixed Sanskrit, and simultaneously their attention was also drawn to the Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese Buddhist Canons. Henceforth they could not but study Buddhism in different languages. As soon as those Mahāyānic Sanskrit manuscripts were discovered, they came to know that the Buddhism embodied in those manuscripts is quite different in character, from that embodied in the Pāli canons. At the same time they gradually understood that the Buddhism embodied in the Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese canons on the whole does bear quite a family-resemblance with Sanskrit Buddhism which was just a little before discovered in Nepal. Thus a new vista dawned in the mental horizon of Buddhist

¹ Dr. R. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. xxiv.

scholars—new points of views and new visions were the results thereof. This Nepalese Buddhism was entirely different from the Buddhism in Pāli which prevailed in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Anam. Since that time Buddhist scholars of Europe made two-fold divisions of Buddhism as a whole from the geographical point of view. Or in other words, they took India as the centre and countries like Nepal, Tibet, China and Japan, etc., where Buddhism is prevailing in a different shape, are situated in the Northern direction, so they applied the terms “Northern Buddhism” to this, while in as much as the countries like Ceylon, Burma and Siam, etc., where Pāli Buddhism is prevailing are situated in a Southern direction from India, they termed it “Southern Buddhism.”

Let it be said here that this geographical division is not perfectly correct as Dr. J. Takakusu and Dr. K. Watanabe¹ have pointed out. Because although the Islands of Java and Sumatra lie in a Southern direction from India, yet we must not forget, that their Buddhism was entirely on the same par with Northern Buddhism. But this division seems to be very convenient for understanding different forms, different religious types, different doctrines, different philosophies, different canons in different languages with different antecedents.

From the point of religious type or character “Southern Buddhism” is Original form of Buddhism,² while that of the “Northern Buddhism” is partially Original, and partially Developed, form of Buddhism. As you know, the so-called “Southern Buddhism” was originally spread from India to Ceylon at the time of King Aśoka about 250 B.C. by the missionary propagation of Mahinda, the son of king Aśoka and his other five

¹ A Pāli Chrestomathy of Dr. J. Takakusu, p. xi. Dr. K. Watanabe's European Buddhism, p. 14 (in Japanese).

² See Appendix.

colleagues, *viz.*, Itthiya, Utteya, Sambala, Bhaddasāla and Sumana, the son of his sister.¹ From Ceylon it has spread into other different countries. The Buddhism which was in vogue among the Sthaviras in the time of king Aśoka was the Original form of Buddhism.² Because this Sthavira doctrine alone spread into Ceylon and other Southern countries, therefore, it is termed "Southern Buddhism." And that was precisely the Original Doctrine. On the other hand, speaking generally, we must also bear in mind that what is termed "Northern Buddhism" is a growth mainly in Post-Aśokan times. The Sthaviras including even those who in Aśoka's time left Magadha and went to Kashmīra-Gandhāra, later on occupied a place in Northern Buddhism under the new name of the 'Sarvāstivādin.' If we analyze the history of Indian Buddhism, we see first, that just after the Third Buddhist Council in the time of King Aśoka, Kukkuṭārāma in the capital city of Pāṭaliputra became a centre of Buddhism more prosperous than any other place. But it was in the hands of the Mahāsaṃghika school.

At first, King Aśoka tried his level best for the unity of the contending Sthavira and Mahāsaṃghika parties; the Sthaviras could not long stand united in amity with the Mahāsaṃghika. They left Magadha; at that time they seceded in a body and divided themselves into two parties—one following the line of the Vinaya-bhāṇakas went to Ceylon and the other who followed the tradition of the Sūtra-bhāṇakas went to Kashmīra-Gandhāra.³ The former as I have told you became the founder of Southern Buddhism while the latter made

¹ Mahāvamsa XII. 7. and XIII. 4. and Aśoka by V. A. Smith, p. 213.

² Of course at that time Mahāsaṃghika doctrines were also extended in India. But the Buddhism of Sthavira school must be pronounced as Original form of Buddhism.

³ See my "Shifting of the Centres of Buddhism in India" in Calcutta University Journal of Letters, Vol. I, and the History of Early Buddhist Schools which will appear in the Vol. IV, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes (Orientalia).

their centre in Kashmīra and Gandhāra. These Kashmīra-Gandhāra Sthaviras at first kept to their original doctrines, but later on being influenced by Mahāsaṃghikas they were found to emphasise the philosophical aspect of their doctrine more and more and became known as Sarvāstivādin. The Mahāsaṃghika and its lineage schools tried to manifest Buddha's introspectional perception and eventually paved the way for the later establishment of Mahāyāna doctrines. Not only that, some of their parties were themselves the founders of Mahāyāna schools. This is the reason why we called "Northern Buddhism" partially Original Buddhism and the partially Developed Buddhism.

Of Languages: the canons of "Southern Buddhism"¹ so far as I understand, are written in Pāli language at least from the time of Buddhaghoṣa (about 550 A. D.). On the other hand the canons of "Northern Buddhism" are written partly in Classical Sanskrit, partly in the Gāthā-dialect and partially in Prakrit, and some even in Pāli. This fact becomes very clear at the present time from the manifold investigations done by many scholars both in the East and in the West.² We get corroboration on this point from the Chinese translations of Buddhist canons. In some of them the translation suggests clearly Sanskrit originals. In others hint is given of Prakrit as well as Pāli originals. Dr. M. Anesaki has pointed this out in his "Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese,"³ and Dr. J. Takakusu says the same in a learned article in the J. R. A. S., July, 1896, pp. 416-439.

¹ I do not mean to say that the original canon of Southern Buddhism was actually written in Pāli and it is a very difficult task at present to find out exactly the original language in which it was written.

² The language of existent manuscripts of Northern Buddhism are some in Classical Sanskrit, some in Gāthā-dialect and some in Prakrit. Much evidence of this can be had from the discoveries made by men like Stein, Grunwedel, Petrowsky, Kremenz, and Pelliot in Chinese Turkestan and Central Asia, etc.

³ Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXV, Part (3), Introduction.

Over and above this, we have an ancient reliable authority. The learned Buddhist monk Vinīta-deva of 8th century A. D. makes statement like this—the Sarvāstivādins used Sanskrit, the Mahāsaṃghikas Prākṛit, the Sammitiyas Apabhraṃśa and Sthaviravādins used Paisāci.¹

On the side of doctrine, it may be generally said that "Southern Buddhism" is carrying the original doctrines of Buddha which dealt with his Phenomenological perception, while the so-called "Northern Buddhism" on the other hand is the product of an intermixture of both the original of Buddha's Phenomenological perception and his Ontological perception. In other words, the Northern schools of Sthaviras or Sarvāstivādins and their allied branches generally speaking, are bearing the original character of Buddhism; while all developed forms of Buddhism and its schools are to indicate Ontological side of Buddha's perception.

II. The terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna— Doctrinal Division of Buddhism.

My only object here is to draw your attention to the great importance of the two terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna,—which will help a better and clearer understanding of the subject. A detailed discussion of this topic is of absorbing interest to every student of Buddhism. It is reserved for my main book. Therefore, in this introductory note, I will give you a bare summary of the subject.

The terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are known only to Northern Buddhism but not to Southern Buddhism. As a matter of fact, therefore, we never meet with such

¹ Dr. M. Anesaki's *Consideration of Indian Religious History*, p. 543 (Japanese) and Dr. M. M. S. C. Vidyabhushana's *Indian Logic*, p. 119.

terms in the Pāli canon of Southern Buddhism.¹ But the terms frequently occur in the canon of Mahāyāna or Northern Buddhism. This Mahāyāna Buddhism, in my opinion, has been developed (or manifested) in the period between the time of King Aśoka and that of Nāgārjuna (roughly 2nd century B. C. to 3rd century A. D.).² For a clear conception I would like to discuss the subject under three main heads, namely:—(1) By whom or by which school exactly the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna were first coined? (2) From what time the use of the terms, in their present sense came to be current? (3) Why they came to be so used? Let us now take up the first question. Etymologically, 'Mahāyāna' means great vehicle and 'Hīnayāna' means small vehicle. On the face of it, the terms are suggesting a relation of superiority and inferiority of some things. At the same time we understand at once that such relation or strictly a comparison should come up when a man or a school tried to assert superiority over a rival and attempted to reject the adversary's doctrine. A clear study will convince us of an underlying doctrinal basis of difference for which the two terms stand against each other. In the history of Buddhism, we may perceive two aspects of Buddhism, one is what we have termed Original Buddhism and another is the Developed Buddhism. By Original Buddhism we mean the doctrine preached by

¹ Students of Buddhism are apt to be mistaken if they think that the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna can divide Northern Buddhism from Southern Buddhism. The so-called Southern Buddhism belongs to Hīnayāna; while Northern Buddhism to Mahāyāna. But from the right and critical point of view, Southern Buddhism belongs to Hīnayāna only; however, in Northern Buddhism both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are existing simultaneously. Therefore, we can by no means hold that Northern Buddhism is the exclusive product of Mahāyāna.

² This period may be conceived as the flowering or formative period of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the course of which it was gradually manifesting itself.

Buddha himself in public; while Developed Buddhism means the doctrines which, though existing in Buddha's perception rather implicitly, was manifested and developed later on by his disciples and followers after his Parinirvāṇa. However, these two different aspects of Buddhism are nothing but only manifestation of Buddha's two-fold perception of the world; that is to say, when Buddha attained Enlightenment he realised the Truth of the Universe. This Truth of the Universe can be presented from two points of view; one is Truth of the physical nature of this world and another is the Truth of the reality behind it. In other words, when he obtained Enlightenment he understood the real condition of the 'Samsāra' and at the same time he penetrated the reality of the Internal Universe. The former I have called Buddha's Phenomenological perception and the latter his Ontological perception. Buddha we must remember was enlightened with both these truths. But the religious and philosophical conditions in India at that time only allowed him to preach the doctrines formulated from a Phenomenological point of view, and his Ontological perception was bound to be left in the hands of his disciples to be manifested afterwards when the proper time for it came. What we call Buddha's Ontological perception was merely formulated and manifested by his disciples and followers; therefore, sometimes we termed it as Developed Buddhism. But we should not forget that history records its growth, but not its origin. All the same, the idea of Developed Buddhism remained in Buddha's perception when he was preaching what is usually called Original Buddhism. Now we see that the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are applied to two different sets of doctrines of Buddhism. That is to say, in relation of 'time,' the doctrines which are expressed by the term Hīnayāna were promulgated earlier

during Buddha's life-time by himself, while the doctrines expressed by the term Mahāyāna were formulated by Buddha's disciples and followers after his death, were manifestations of his Introspectional perception. Again, in relation of 'space' these two aspects of Buddhism expressed by the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna respectively represents Buddha's Introspectional perception and his Phenomenological perception. Therefore, now it is clear that the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna were applied undoubtedly later on, when the mutual conflict engendering a sense of superiority arose between the Original and the Developed Buddhism in the shape of school. It is also clear that the school of Developed Buddhism wanted to display their own superiority over Original Buddhism, and they named their own school Mahāyāna or the Great Vehicle and called their opponents by the term Hīnayāna or Small Vehicle. Therefore, we see that the terms were coined and applied at a later stage for the first time by the school of Developed Buddhism or the Mahāyānists. This is precisely the reason why we do not find such terms in the Pāli Nikāyas and Chinese translations of Āgmas, but we do find innumerable mention of them in the Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstras. Now the great question may arise, "Who is the founder of the Mahāyāna Buddhism and school represented by it"? Many scholars are of opinion that the founder of Mahāyāna Buddhism and school is Nāgārjuna but we should say that this is a great mistake. If we look at the stupendous work called Prajñāpāramitā śāstra and Daśabhūmi-Vibhāṣa-śāstra¹ of Nāgārjuna, we actually find many Mahāyāna sūtras which have been quoted by the author. And this will convince us at least that before Nāgārjuna there were many Mahāyāna sūtras.

¹ The former is a commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra and the latter is a commentary on the first two of the ten Bhūmis in Daśabhūmika chapter of Avataṁsaka sūtra. And see Appendix.

Therefore, it is beyond doubt that Mahāyāna Buddhism and its certain allied schools were already in existence before the time of Nāgārjuna. Again, through Paramārtha's introduction to the 'Nikāya-abalambana-sāstra' of Vasumitra which exists only in a Chinese translation, we come to know that the Mahāsaṅghikas used some Mahāyāna sūtras. If this is a true fact, we are here assured that some of the Mahāyāna sūtras were certainly existing, may be in a different form, even in the two centuries following Buddha's Parinirvāṇa (*i. e.*, 4th and 3rd centuries B. C.).

Not only that, if we compare the Mahāsaṅghika doctrines with those of Developed Buddhism or Mahāyāna, a bit carefully, we see that both sets of doctrines are closely connected with each other. Again, at the same time we find that the ideas embodied in Mahāsaṅghika school, are nothing but the aspect of Buddha's Ontological perception. Therefore, my opinion is that Buddha's Ontological perception has manifested itself as Mahāyāna Buddhism through the Mahāsaṅghika school. Therefore, the origin of Mahāyāna doctrines in the last analysis is Buddha's perception in an incipient stage. But the full manifestation of the Mahāyāna doctrines is due to the Mahāsaṅghika school which, as you see, acted as an intermediate stage from a historical point of view. Hence we can safely say that the Mahāsaṅghikas were, in a certain sense, the founder of Mahāyānism and at the same time the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna were for the first time coined by the Mahāsaṅghikas but used by the Mahāyānists themselves. Our next problem is why the Mahāsaṅghikas used such terms at all? In the course of this discourse, a question "when such terms were used?" naturally suggests itself.

According to both Southern and Northern Buddhist records, disciples of Buddha entertained different opinions

even in his lifetime: but these they did individually.¹ However, in course of time these different opinions found vent through different parties and schools at the Vaiśālī Council. Why these different parties and schools in Buddhism came to being will be all clear to us if we do not forget the fact that the Mahāsaṅghikas as liberal and advanced Buddhists had always a conflict of opinion with the Sthaviras or conservatives who loyally stuck to the original doctrine of Buddhism preached by the Master himself. Hence, the doctrines of these two parties in every respect were different from each other. For this reason in the Vaiśālī Council, the Sthaviras excommunicated the Mahāsaṅghikas or the Vajjian monks² and called them 'Pāpa Bhikkhus' and 'Adhammavādins.' Henceforth the Mahāsaṅghika party was growing in power and popularity each day in the Buddhist community; but this excommunication pained them much. Since that time Mahāsaṅghikas began to search for such terms by which they could display the superiority of their own doctrines and reject other and after passing through many stages at last they hit upon the term 'Hinayāna' for the Sthaviras and called themselves Mahāyānists. Now, let us consider "When these terms were first used?" Such full-fledged terms cannot be found all at once. It is reasonable to conjecture that gradually the terms 'Mahāyāna' and 'Hinayāna' must have come into vogue at a much later time when after many similar other terms were tried and rejected, to belittle the doctrines of Sthavira-vāda. This is quite evident from the fact that we find the use of these terms in Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstras which were

¹ I have made this clear in my "The History of Early Buddhist Schools" in the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, IV.

² I maintain that Vajjian monks composed the main body of the Mahāsaṅghika schools.

composed about the time of Nāgārjuna and later on. Specially we find the use of these perfect comparative terms in the works of Nāgārjuna. For example, he said in his *Prajñāpāramitā-sāstra* or commentary of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*:—

“There are two kinds of Buddhism, one is *Hīnayāna* and the other is *Mahāyāna*.”¹

Of course, we meet with the terms ‘*Mahāyāna*’ and ‘*Hīnayāna*’ some time in the *Mahāyāna* sūtras which definitely existed before the time of Nāgārjuna, but there the terms were seldom used and even if used, it was not in a comparative sense of superiority and inferiority. From the above we can very well understand that the terms ‘*Mahāyāna*’ and ‘*Hīnayāna*’ practically came into use in their proper usual sense from the time of Nāgārjuna.

Our next question would then be “How these terms have been formed by the *Mahāsaṅghikas*?” As we know every word has a history at its back, therefore, on the face of it terms like ‘*Mahāyāna*’ and ‘*Hīnayāna*’ did not come into use all on a sudden; they must have passed through previous historical stages. As I have already said the *Mahāsaṅghikas*, before they could finally arrive at these terms, passed through many similar other terms. Then what are these?

If we look at the *Mahāyāna* sūtras we find many other terms like *Ekayāna*, *Agrayāna*, *Bhadrāyāna*, *Paramārthayāna*, *Bodhisattvayāna* and *Buddhayāna*, as synonym of the term ‘*Mahāyāna*.’ Among these, ‘*Ekayāna*,’ ‘*Buddhayāna*’ and ‘*Bodhisattvayāna*’ have been used most frequently; and when the term ‘*Ekayāna*’ was used in the place of the term ‘*Mahāyāna*,’ then the corresponding terms ‘*Dviyāna*’

¹ Wang Bundle, Vol. 5, p. 69a of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

or 'Triyāna' were used in the place of the term 'Hīnayāna.' Similarly when the term 'Bodhisattvayāna' and the term 'Buddhayāna' were used for the term 'Mahāyāna,' then the term 'Arhatyāna' and 'Śravakayāna' were used for the term 'Hīnayāna.'

Again, we see that the term 'Ekayāna' appears in the place where Buddha's Ontological doctrines¹ are dealt with, while on the contrary when there is an indication of Buddha's personality or his theory upon human beings then the terms 'Buddhayāna' and 'Bodhisattvayāna' were used. Now, let us see which is the earlier one of these previous kinds of terms. We find in the Pāli-Nikāyas the term 'Ekayāna.' There it only indicates the 'Astāṅgika-mārga.' Hence it is to be more correct, we may say that the term 'Ekayāna' has been used by Buddha himself and the Sthaviras in the lifetime of the Master as well as after His Parinirvāṇa. From what has been said above we are at once led to the conclusion that as soon as the Mahāsaṅghikas were excommunicated by the Sthaviras, the latter attached contemptuous epithets to the name of the former and the former in their turn could not but borrow the term 'Ekayāna' from the Nikāyas: Thereby they thought, that it would be the most suitable term to distinguish themselves from the Sthaviras in the point of doctrine and at the same time to assert their own superiority.

Again, they called the Sthaviras by the name 'Dviyāna' to indicate their inferiority. But it appears to me that some time after the Mahāsaṅghikas were puzzled to find that the term 'Ekayāna' is common to both (both in the Sthavira and Mahāsaṅghika), so that

¹ When similar Ontological aspects of doctrines are indicated then some time the term 'Satya' occur for the term 'Mahāyāna.' In such case the term 'Upāya-Kauśalya' has been used in the place of the term 'Hīnayāna' such example we do find in the Amritārtha sūtra. In Wang Bundle, Vol. I, p. 3a of Chinese Tripiṭaka, and Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra, Part I, p. 29, Bibliotheca Buddhica edition.

they once more began to search for another suitable term. This time they invented the term 'Buddhayāna' or 'Bodhisattvayāna.' But even at this stage too when they began to think a little deeply over these new terms they saw their shortcoming.

It was clear that the terms like 'Bodhisattvayāna' and 'Buddhayāna' only indicate a particular aspect of Buddhism, namely—Buddha's personality. But the doctrinal side was totally missed and left out of consideration. So they again began to search for yet another newer and more suitable term which would indicate both aspects of Buddhism, and at last they invented the terms 'Mahāyāna' and 'Hīnayāna.'

One very important point regarding the terms 'Mahāyāna' and 'Hīnayāna' must be here referred to. As a matter of fact the implication of these terms varied in the two periods, *viz.*—first in what we have called Mahāyāna sūtra period (*i.e.*, from Mahāsaṅghika separation to the time of Nāgārjuna) and second Mahāyāna school period (*i. e.*, the time of Nāgārjuna, Maitreyaṇāth, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, etc.).

As you know the terms were originally coined by the Mahāsaṅghikas and in the sūtra period they applied them to indicate a fundamental doctrinal difference, *viz.*, Buddha's Ontological and Phenomenological perceptions respectively. However, in the time of Nāgārjuna and later on, that is to say, when the Mādhyamika school of Nāgārjuna and the Yogācāra school of Maitreyaṇāth, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu came to be established (*i. e.*, in the school period), the terms 'Mahāyāna' and 'Hīnayāna' began to change their connotation. They are henceforth applied not only in a sense of doctrinal difference of Buddha's perception, but at the same time they carry with them the sense of the relation of different schools; the Mahāyānists went further and in

the term 'Mahāyāna' they included only their schools like Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, etc., while in 'Hīnayāna' they put in first not only the original doctrine of Buddha but at the same time Sarvāstivāda schools and secondly even the Mahāsāṅghika school and as well as their allied schools.

Other important allied terms referred to above, will require elucidation for a thorough understanding of the doctrinal aspect of Buddhism. Therefore, let us next take them up one by one. These terms which should be noted here were quite unknown to Southern Buddhism.

A

*The terms Vyaktayāna (or Vyakta-upadeśa)
Guhayāna (or Guhya-upadeśa).¹*

These doctrinal terms indicate Buddha's mode or way of preaching. Etymologically, Vyakta-upadeśa means the exoteric doctrines and Guhya-upadeśa means the esoteric doctrines that is to say, the former indicates the doctrines which Buddha preached publicly among all men, and the latter indicates the doctrines which Buddha preached in secret only for his advanced disciples.

Therefore, Nāgārjuna said in his Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra: ²—

“There are two kinds of doctrines in Buddhism; one is the esoteric (Guhya), and another is exoteric (Vyakta)” ³

¹ These are my restoration, because, up to this time, I could not find out proper terms in Sanskrit text. In Japanese, the former is called 'Ken-kyo' and latter is called 'Mikkyo.'

² The commentary of Prajñāpāramitā sūtra.

³ Prajñāpāramitā śāstra, fascicul. 4 and 65, of Wang Bundle, Vol. I, p. 29a and Vol. 4, p. 25b of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

So far as my knowledge goes, these terms were for the first time invented and applied by Nāgārjuna, the great teacher of Mahāyāna, with reference to the above.

But we should here bear in mind the fact that the meaning of these two terms have varied according as they were applied and confined to different schools, different countries, and different historical periods of the time. For example, the great teacher K'-i, sometimes also called K'-Kō-tō-sh, the founder of the Thien-thai school in China (in 597 A. D. he died in his sixty-seventh year) has applied these terms for a classification of whole Buddhism, in a more radical sense than that of Nāgārjuna. But since the Mantrayāna school was introduced into Japan from China in 805-6 A. D., the terms were applied in a very limited sense exclusively to that school and its own classification of Buddha's doctrine. Hence these terms became in course of time more and more complicated and at the same time, it began to bear a more and more limited sense than that of Nāgārjuna and even of K'-i.

The Mantrayāna school in Japan is mainly divided into two different schools: the first was established by the teacher Kū-kai who is better known by his posthumous title Kō-bō-dai-shi, and another school was established by the teacher Ji-kaku-dai-shi.¹ Both these teachers applied the same terms differently. The former applied the terms in a narrow sectarian sense, that is to say, according to the teacher Ku-kai, the whole of Buddhism, either Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna, either Developed or Original Buddhism, as preached by the historical Buddha, belongs to the 'Vyakta-upadeśa.' While according to him

¹ Ku-kai has founded his Mantrayāna school on the mountain of Koyā. Ji-ka-ku was a great expander of the doctrine of Ten-dai sect in Japan after the great teacher Den-gyo. Both have introduced the same Mantrayāna Buddhism from China but their opinions differed from each other.

also the preaching of Vairachana Buddha¹ only is the 'Guhya-upadeśa' and he is not Rupa-kāya Buddha but Dharma-kāya Buddha. It was said that the so-called Vairachana-sūtra records his preaching. Against this Ji-ka-ku has applied the terms rather in a proper sense from our point of view and at the same time it seems that the sense of the terms 'Vyaktayāna' and 'Guhyayāna' has a much more correct and complete form than that of the former, even the teacher K'i or even Nāgārjuna. According to this teacher the so-called Dviyāna doctrine or Hīnayāna doctrine or Original Buddhism is the 'Vyakta-upadeśa,' because it has been spoken by Buddha in public and that doctrine itself represents the Buddha's Phenomenological perception. But Ekayāna doctrine or Mahāyāna or Developed Buddhism belongs to the 'Guhya-upadeśa,' because it is the externalization of Buddha's introspectional perception. The explanation of Ji-ka-ku is quite identical with the statement of Mahāyāna sūtras; for example, in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra as well as Amitārth-sūtra we find thus:—

“तथागत एव शरिपुत्र तथागतस्य धर्मदेशये व्यान्वर्त्तस्तथागतो जानाति”²

“None but a Tathāgata, Śāriputra, can impart to Tathāgata those Dharma which the Tathāgata alone knows”³

This says quite plainly that Buddha's introspectional perception can only be understood by a man like Tathāgata but to the common people it will appear as esoteric or Guhya.

¹ According to the Mantrayāna school Vairachana Buddha is the only ideal Buddha. It means the personification of essence of Bodhi and absolute purity.

² Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, Vol. I, p. 30, of Bibliotheca Buddhica edition. And Amitārtha-sūtra: In Bundle, Vol. I, p. 46 of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

³ S. B. E., Vol. XXI, p. 32.

B

The Terms Sahajayāna and Kāṭhinayāna.

The terms 'Sahajayāna' and 'Kāṭhinayana'¹ have been formed from religious point of view or more correctly, from the point of religious practice; that is to say, Buddhism as a whole can be broadly divided into two types from the point of view of religious practice.

Etymologically, 'Sahajayāna' means 'The Easy Path' and 'Kāṭhinayāna,' 'The difficult path.' It is not an easy task to ascertain the origin of the terms historically. However, situated as we are, it would not be wrong to suppose that these terms were formed for the first time, by Nāgārjuna who applied them in order to divide Buddha's doctrines from the point of view of religious practice. This is the reason, therefore, that we meet in his treatise for the first time, these terms as well as their explanation. In his *Daśabūmi-vibhāṣā-sāstra* we read as follows:—

"There are numerous paths which one must tread to reach the Buddhistic emancipation, just in the same way as in the ordinary world we find different paths; the difficult ones and the easy ones. Walking along the land-roads is difficult, while sailing in water by a boat is much more refreshing and easy. It is the same case in the *Bodhisattva-mārga*. The difficult path is that which entails a long rigorous period of religious practice to reach the region of perfect peace from which there is no

¹ The terms 'Sahajayāna' or 'Sahaja-mārga' is met with in Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript, but the term 'Kāṭhinayāna' or 'Kāṭhina-mārga' does not at present occur in the existing manuscripts. Therefore, I could not but restore it from Japanese sources. 'Sahaja-mārgo' is called in Japanese 'I-gya-do' and 'Kāṭhina-mārga' is called 'Nan-gyo-do.'

return. The easy path is that which at once leads easily to the destination by means of faith.”¹

Just after the above, Nāgārjuna has enumerated many names of the Past, Present, and Future Buddhas especially the name of Amitābha Buddha. At the same time he stated like this :

“If one is willing to obtain perfect peace he should worship Buddhas with a heart full of faith and should recite their name.” Again, in his *Prajñāpāramitā-sāstra* he has said :—

“If one hears even the name of the Buddha of the holy land (Amitābha Buddha), he would obtain salvation.”² From the above statements we understand very easily that Nāgārjuna for the first time formed the terms ‘Sahajayāna’ and ‘Kāṭhinayāna’ from the point of view of religious practice.

All paths (*mārgās*) either Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna are included under ‘Kāṭhina-mārga’ and reciting Buddha’s names only comes under ‘Sahaja-mārga.’ From the above, we come to know at the same time that Nāgārjuna encouraged the common people to follow the ‘Sahaja-mārga.’ We must bear in mind that the idea of reciting the name of Buddha from historical point of view undoubtedly dates as early as original Buddhism.

Now a question may arise, why Nāgārjuna has formed two new terms to indicate the two kinds of path in Buddhism from the point of view of religious practice and why he sought to encourage the common people to follow the ‘Sahaja-mārga’ rather than the ‘Kāṭhina-mārga?’ Before we attempt this question, it is very

¹ *Da-śabūmi-Vibhāṣhā-sāstra*, fascicul. 9, i.e., Sn Bundle, Vol. 8, p. 19b. of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

² *Prajñāpāramitā-sāstra*, fascicul. 93, Wang Bundle, Vol. 5, p. 70b of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

important for our investigation to set clearly before you the exact religious and philosophical atmosphere of India at that time or rather shortly before Nāgārjuna.

In the time of Nāgārjuna shortly before him, both the Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical philosophy¹ as well as religion were much developed and came to hold such an influential position that they were strong enough to push away Buddhism from Central India where it was in the zenith of its power in the time of King Aśoka.

We know from the political history of India that in the course of fifty years after the death of Aśoka his descendants lost their power. The central power passed away into the hand of his Ministers. One of them Pushpamitra when holding a general review of the imperial army at Pātaliputra in the presence of the last Maurya King, Vrihadratha, treacherously, it is said, killed him and the Śunga dynasty under Pushpamitra came into power about 185 B. C. Kings of this dynasty were patrons of Brahmanism and specially Pushpamitra had great faith in the Vedic religion ; he sanctified animal sacrifices which were essential to Vedic Brāhmanism, contradictory to the most cherished feature of Buddhism. From Tibetan² as well as Chinese records³ we come to know that Pushpamitra has been regarded as one of the greatest persecutors of Buddhism. He is said to have burnt Buddhist monasteries and slain many

¹ Of the so-called six systems of Hindu philosophy, to my mind, the Purva Mīmāṃsā and Uttara Mīmāṃsā (or Vedānta) alone belonged to the pure Vedic or Brahmanical system, so to speak. While the Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika were originally un-Vedic, afterwards absorbed and adopted by the Brahmanical or Vedic system. I take the Yoga and Nyāya system as common to both. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śāktism, from this point of view, stood outside the pale of the pure Brahmanical system influenced, adopted and re-shaped according to its own light.

² Tāranāth : Schiefner's Translation, p. 81.

³ 25th fasciculi of Saṃyuktāgama-sūtra ; Shen Bundle, Vol 3, p. 48b of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

monks from Magadha to Jālandhara in the Punjab, though we have an epigraph on the gate-way of the Buddhist stupa at Bharhut which records its erection, "during the supremacy of the Śuṅgas."¹ From the latter it may be gathered that the successors of Pushpamitra were more tolerant and liberal than him.

Next to Śuṅga, the Kānva dynasty came to power. They, too, were of the Brahmanical faith and continued for 45 years, from King Vasudeva (73 B. C.) to the last King Suśarman (28 B. C.)² Therefore, during the period extending from 185 B. C. to 28 B. C., Vedic Brāhmanism underwent a great revival in Central India. Not only that, it took great care to Brahmanise and re-shape many non-Brahmanical systems of philosophy and religion. That precisely is why it became such a great movement.

This was undoubtedly a re-action of the powerful propaganda of Buddhism under the great royal support of King Aśoka.

Now let us first of all see what was the condition of Hindu philosophy at that time. The so-called six systems of Hindu philosophy except the Nyāya system had formed their schools, in my opinion, during the period from the 3rd century B. C. to the 1st century B. C.³ and the Nyāya system, according to Dr. H. Ui and myself, formed its school sometime in the 2nd century A. D.⁴

Among these schools, the Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta systems are only purely Vedic or Brāhmanic while the other systems, in my opinion, are not of a Vedic origin but

¹ A Guide to Sānci, Sir John Marshall, p. 10, 'Śuṅganam raje.'

² Dynasties of the Kali Age of Pargiter, p. 71.

³ This and allied points I will fully discuss when dealing with the Indian philosophy in future.

⁴ Dr. H. Ui's translation of Nyāyapraveśatarka-śāstra from Chinese to Japanese, p. 46.

originally belonged, nevertheless, to Aryan thought outside the Vedic circle. However, afterwards, these latter were Brāhmanized and regarded as pure Brāhmanical thought. From Brāhmanical source as well as from Buddhist works we come to know that the six systems of Hindu philosophy were in a much flourishing condition at the time of the later Andhra and Gupta Kings. That is exactly the time of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva of Mādhyamika school, Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu of Yogācāra school. If we now look at Nāgārjuna's Daśabhūmi-vibhāṣā-śāstra we find the names of Sāṃkhya and Yoga mentioned,¹ and in his Ekaśloka-śāstra we meet the names of Kapila and Ulūka,² and in his Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra reference is made to the doctrines of the Sāṃkhya system.³ And in his Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra also we come across the term 'Satkārya' which indicates the doctrine of the Sāṃkhya.⁴

Again, in the Satyasiddhi-śāstra of Harivarman who flourished about 260 or 280 A. D. and was a later contemporary of Nāgārjuna, mention has been made of the Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṃkhya and the Nyāya systems.⁵

In the Upāyakauśalyahridaya-śāstra which deals much with the Buddhist Nyāya system, the names of the Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga as well as some other heretical schools are also found.⁶ (Su Bundle, Vol. I, pp. 8a-13b of Chinese Tripiṭaka).

¹ Su Bundle, Vol. 8, p. 11a of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

² Su Bundle, Vol. I, p. 5a of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

³ Wang Bundle, Vol. 4, p. 48a of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

⁴ Sai Bundle, Vol. 10, p. 67b of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

⁵ Chāṅg Bundle, Vol. 2, p. 117b and p. 21a of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

⁶ This book which survives only in a Chinese translation is a very important Buddhist Śāstra regarding the development of Buddhist Nyāya. In Chinese catalogues (see Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1257) this book is put under the authorship of Nāgārjuna, but other catalogues like the Chinese Tripiṭaka of Kō-Kio-Sho. In edition in Japan do not name any author at all. My friend Dr. H. Ui in his introduction to a Japanese translation of a Chinese book called "Nyāyapraveśatarka-śāstra,

Besides these, in the śāstra by Āryadeva on "the refutation of four heretical and Hīnayāna schools mentioned in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra" mention has been made of the names and doctrines of the Sāṃkhya and the Vaiśeṣika.¹ In his another work called "the explanation of Nirvāṇa by heretical and Hīnayāna schools mentioned in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra"² we also get the names of the Sāṃkhya and the Vaiśeṣika among 20 other heretical schools,³ and these are all refuted. Again, if we turn to the works of the Yogācāra school, we will meet with refutations of the doctrines of the Sāṃkhya, the Vaiśeṣika and the Mīmāṃsā with other 13 heretical schools in the Yogācāryabhūmi-śāstra⁴ by Maitreya-nātha.⁵ The Prakaraṇāryavācā-śāstra⁶ of Asaṅga also refuted the doctrines of Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika, etc., and with it a refutation of 16 other heretical schools also has been made. In the life of Vasubandhu written by Paramārtha, we come to know that Vasubandhu wrote a book entitled 'Paramārthasaptatī' in opposition to the New Sāṃkhya śāstra of Vindha-vāsa (or Īśvara-kṛiṣṇa)⁷ a disciple of Varṣaganya. We also know at the same time that King Vikramāditya was much satisfied with Vasubandhu on this occasion and gave him three laes of

(pp. 44-6) has satisfactorily shown from internal evidence that the author of the Upāyakaṇṣālyahridaya-śāstra was some Hīnayānist; the un-named author must be, as he says, a later contemporary or a nearer predecessor of Nāgārjuna.

¹ Su Bundle, Vol. 5, p. 56a, of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

² Su Bundle, Vol. 5, p. 58b, of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

³ I have not yet identified those 20 heretical schools; therefore, I cannot mention those names here; however, I will discuss this point on the subject "Heretical schools in India mentioned in the Buddhist books" in future.

⁴ Maitreya-nātha, younger contemporary of Nāgārjuna, is the founder of Yogācāra school and his date is about 270-350 A. D.

⁵ Lai Bundle, Vol. I, p. 24a of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

⁶ Lai Bundle, Vol. 7, p. 35b, (see Nanjio's catalogue no. 1177).

⁷ Dr. H. Ui's article on the Sāṃkhya-system in the Journal of Philosophy, published by the department of literature of Imperial University of Tokyo No. 379. University, p. 1041 (1920).

gold; moreover, the king also sent his queen with the crown prince Bālāditya to study Buddhism under the celebrated Vasubandhu.¹ Again in Buddhagotra-śāstra of Vasubandhu, we meet with refutations of the Sāṃkhya, and the Vaiśeṣika doctrines.²

Thus the systems of Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Yoga, and Nyāya as well as the treatises of Mīmāṃsā, and of many other heretical schools were undoubtedly in a flourishing condition in those times. Therefore it was, that Nāgārjuna and his disciple Āryadeva were busily engaged in refuting the Vedic Brāhmanic ideas and un-Vedic Aryan doctrines (Brāhmanised). Next let us see what was then the condition of different religious faiths at the time of Nāgārjuna. From numismatic and epigraphic evidence as well as from various Hindu literatures, we come to know that the popular Hindu religions which are known under the names of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śāktism were in a very flourishing condition in the time of Nāgārjuna.

To my opinion, these are, also, not of Vedic origin, but originally belonged to the religious ideas of Outlandic Indo-Aryans about which we are going to discuss below. However, I think that the great Buddhist propaganda under king Aśoka led the Vedic priests to Brāhmanise the religious ideas of Outlandic Indo-Aryans in order to start a counter-movement against it. Now let us see how these religions came into being.

(a) *Vaiṣṇavism*.—This is sometimes, known under the name of Bhāgavata religion, or Sātvata religion or Ekāntika Dharma and sometimes as Pañcharātra religion. This religion has a variety of names but it is essentially a religion of Bhakti or Love and Faith. It was originally

¹ See my Shifting of Centres of Buddhism in India, Journal of Letters Calcutta Univ., Vol. I.

² Su Bundle, Vol. 2, pp. 75b-79b of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

the worship of Vāsudeva or Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the Sātvata race. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar said of this faith in his Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism :—

“ The Kṣatriyas engaged themselves in active speculations on religious matters about the time of the Upaniṣads and are mentioned even as the original possessors of the new knowledge. Siddhārtha and Mahāvīra founded in this period of intellectual fermentation new systems of religion in the east or the Magadha country which discarded or passed over in silence the doctrine of the existence even of God and laid down self-abnegation and a course of strict moral conduct as the way to salvation. They belonged to the Śākya and Jñāṭṛka race of Kṣatriyas, and Buddhism and Jainism might be considered to be the religions of those tribes. The West, however, was not so radical in its speculations, and the race of Sātvatas developed a system of religion which took up the ideas of a supreme God and devotion to him as the mode of salvation.”¹

This worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seems clearly to be alluded to by Megasthenes, who was the Macedonian ambassador at the court of Chandragupta, the Maurya. Chandragupta reigned in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. And if the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa worship prevailed in the time of the first Maurya, it must have originated long before the establishment of Maurya dynasty.² At the same time the Pāṇini sūtras (IV. 3. 95 and IV. 3. 98) mention the name of Vāsudeva as ‘worshipful’ and from these we learn that this Bhakti religion must have arisen before this time,³ and the date

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism Śaivism, etc.*, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3, and Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 14, and p. 18.

of Pāṇini, according to the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, is between 425 and 325 B. C.¹

As you know, the founder of this religion is a scion of the Vṛṣṇi or Sātvata branch of the Yādava clan which was originally settled in Saurāṣṭra or the Kāthiāwad Peninsula and then spread to Mathurā.² According to Baudhāyana's Dharmasūtra (I. I. 32-33):—

“The inhabitants of Ānartta, of Aṅga, of Magadha, of Saurāṣṭra, of the Deccan, of Upavrit, of Sind, and the Sauvīras are of mixed origin. He who has visited the (countries of the) Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, (or) Pranunas shall offer a Punastoma or Sarvapṛsthi.”

Another law-giver, Devala (as quoted by Vijñāneśvara or Yājñavalkya III, 292), says:—

“He who has visited the (countries of the) Sindhus, Sauvīras, Saurāṣṭras, inhabitants of the frontier regions, of the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, and Andhras, should go through the ceremony of initiation anew.”³

Therefore, the country of Saurāṣṭra belonged to the Outlandic Indo-Aryan as has been pointed out by Mr. Ramāprasād Chanda clearly in his learned work.⁴ So from ethnological point of view, the religion of Bhakti, the worship of Vāsudeva originally belonged to the culture not of the Vedic Aryan but of the Outlandic Indo-Aryans. Such un-Vedic, non-Brāhmanical Vāsudeva, however, later on, was identified with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu a Vedic God. This identification we find for the first time in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka⁵ (X. I. 6). And according to Dr. Keith, the said Āraṇyaka probably dates from the

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. VI, Part I, 1920, p. 29 by M. M. H. P. Śāstri.

² The Indo-Aryan Races by Mr. Ramāprasād Chanda, B A., p. 101.

³ I have quoted from *Ibid*, p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 40-41.

⁵ Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's Early History of the Vaiṣṇava, Sect, p. 63.

third century B. C.¹ So we see the appearance of Vāsudeva as a name of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu in a Brāhmanical work of the third century B. C. is very significant. Hence the un-Vedic and non-Brāhmanic Bhakti religion was Brāhmanized later on. As has been said before, this was due to the strong active propaganda of Buddhism under king Aśoka which led the Vedic Aryans to Brāhmanize such un-Vedic religious ideas.² This is the real meaning of this Vedic religious revival.

From the Ghasuṇḍi and Besnagar inscriptions dated second century B. C.,³ we come to learn that at this time the Bhāgavata religion had overstepped the boundaries of the Mathurā region and spread to the Indian borderland and that its fame had reached the ears of non-Indian peoples some of whom became converts to the faith.⁴ Not only that,—one of the kings of the Kushāna dynasty was actually called Vāsudeva I, who succeeded Huviṣhka. According to my opinion Vāsudeva's date is about 10 A. D. His name, as Mr. V. A. Smith said,⁵ is thoroughly Indian, a synonym for Viṣṇu, and it is a proof of the rapidity with which the foreign invaders had succumbed to the influence of their environment, though the kings of Kuṣhāna dynasty were anti-Bhāgavata at first. It seems then that this faith spread all over Northern India at the time. At the time of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva this religion was one of those many schools which they strongly condemned and rejected. Therefore, we find the Vaiṣṇavism mentioned in Āryadeva's work⁶ under

¹ J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 840.

² I am very glad to find that Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri also holds the same opinion regarding this point in his learned work referred to above.

³ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, pp. 3-4.

⁴ Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's *Early History of Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 57.

⁵ *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 272.

⁶ "Sūtra by Āryadeva on the explanation of the Nirvāṇa by Heretical and Hinayāna schools mentioned in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra" (see Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1960) in the *Su Bundle*, Vol. 5, pp. 58b-59b of Chinese Tripiṭaka.

the name of the 'doctrine of Māthara' which is the twelfth of the twenty heretical schools.

It will be very interesting to state here that the above-mentioned Māthara was one of the ministers of king Kaniṣka II (about 140 A. D.), and at the same time from other source we know that he was one of the great Sāṃkhya philosophers. From the reference in Āryadeva's book we can very well conclude that his doctrines on the Sāṃkhya had Vaiṣṇavistic tendencies and tinges. In the Gupta period this Vaiṣṇava religion was flourishing in the Panjab, Rājputānā, Central India and Magadha.

The Gupta sovereigns of Magadha describe themselves as 'Paramabhāgavata'¹ and were unquestionably great champions of the religion of Vāsudeva, though some of them were Buddhist in faith. Thus we see at the time of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, this popular Brāhmanized religion called Vaiṣṇavism was in a very flourishing condition almost throughout the whole of Northern India.

(b) *Saivism*.—This is one of the principal popular religions of the Hindus, and this faith was in a very flourishing condition at the time of Nāgārjuna. Let us, now, first see whether this religion originally belonged to Brāhmanic or non-Brāhmanic fold, so that we may understand how this religious movement came into being and became so powerful. In my opinion, this religion originally belonged to the un-Vedic or Outlandic Indo-Aryan faith. There are so many deities in the R̥g-Veda: Agni, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Indra, Sūrya, Savitā, Rudra and the Maruts (often called Rudras) and others but Śiva is nowhere mentioned.² Of course, a word 'Śiva' occurs

¹ The Early History of Vaiṣṇava Sect, by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhury, p. 101.

² Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, p. 75.

in the R̥g-Veda (10. 92), but it was only as an auspicious name of Rudra and not of any independent deity. According to the prevailing notion Vedic Rudra is identified with Śiva.

But if we compare the physical features of Rudra in the R̥g-Veda with those of Śiva which were described in the later Hindu Mythology, we will come to know that they are totally different deities. In the R̥g-Veda, Rudra is thus described: "He has a hand, arms, and firm limbs. He has beautiful lips and wears braided hair. His colour is brown. His shape is dazzling, and he is multiform. He shines like the brilliant sun, like gold. He is arrayed with golden ornaments and wears a glorious multiform necklace. He sits on a car-seat."¹

On the other hand, Śiva is described in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which follows the Epic tradition, as "an impure and proud demolisher of rites, as roaming about in cemeteries attended by hosts of ghosts and spirits, as like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, as laughing and weeping, as smeared with ashes from funeral pyres, as wearing a garland of dead men's skulls, pretending to be Śiva 'auspicious' but being in reality Aśiva 'inauspicious' as insane and lord of bhūtas."² Regarding this point M. M. H. P. Śāstri said in his Annual Address in the Asiatic Society of Bengal: "Is Rudra really our Śiva? The two may be identical in some of the aspects, but in the majority of aspects they differ. The Rudra worship in the Sāmaveda Sandhyā describes him as:—

ऋतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् ।

उर्ध्वलिङ्गं विरूपाक्षं विश्वरूपं नमोनमः ॥

"He is the reality. He is the truth. He is Supreme Brahman. He is Puruṣa. He is black and brown. He

¹ Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, p. 74.

² E. R. E. Vol. 11, p. 91.

belongs to the Upper region. He has abnormal eyes and pervades the Universe." But the later conception,

ध्यायेन्नित्यं महेशं रजतगिरिनिभं चारुचन्द्रावतंसम्,
रत्नाकल्पोज्ज्वलाङ्गं परशुमृगवराभोतिहतं प्रसन्नम् ।
पद्मासीनं समन्तात्सुतममरगणैर्व्याघ्रकृत्तिं वसानं
विश्वाद्यं विश्ववोजं निखिलभयहरं पञ्चवक्त्रं त्रिनेत्रम् ॥

"Śiva is like a silver-mountain, moon-crested, with limbs brilliant with the radiance of a variety of precious stones, with four hands holding axe, mṛga, boon-pose, no-fear pose, with a smiling benevolent look, seated on a lotus throne, propitiated with hymns by deities on all sides, with five heads and three eyes, clothed in a tiger-skin, and the beginning and the seed of the Universe." The conceptions materially differ.¹

Thus the physical features as well as the conception of Rudra and Śiva differ from each other. Who is then Śiva? Who possessed forty-eight different names and eight different Mūrtis? In the Yajur-Veda (T. S. IV. 5, 1: VS. chapter 16) Rudra has been given different epithets from that of the Ṛg-Veda. He is called Girīśa, Giritra, Pasupati, Kapardin, Ugra, Bhīma, Bhiṣaja, Śarva, Bhava, Śambhu, Śaṃkara, Śiva, Śitikanṭha, Nilagrīva, etc.² And in another place in the same book Rudras are called Gaṇas, Gaṇapatis, and Niṣādas.³ Here we find different names of Śiva in accordance with his representation.

Out of forty-eight names of Śiva some occur here. And at the same time we also find here five or six of his

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XVII, 1921. No. 2, pp. xx-xxi.

² Bengali Visvakoṣa, Vol. XX, p. 822, and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Mūrtis out of eight.¹ Therefore, Dr. Macdonell said in his Sanskrit Literature :—

“The Rudra of the R̥g-Veda has begun to appear on the scene as Śiva, being several times mentioned by that name as well as other epithets later peculiar to Śiva, such as Śankara and Mahādeva.”²

However, our question “Who is Śiva?” is still remaining obscure. Of the above-mentioned names ‘Giriśa and Giritra’ lying on a mountain, ‘Paśupati’ lord of cattle, ‘Gaṇas’ tribes, ‘Gaṇapatis’ leaders of tribes, workmen, potters, cart-makers, carpenters, and ‘Niśādas’ the forest tribes, seem to suggest that at the time of the Yajur-Veda certain peculiar gods of forest-tribes came to be connected with Rudra. In this connection R. G. Bhandarkar says :—

“Thus these followers of handicraft and also the forest-tribe of Niśādas are brought into close connection with Rudra. Probably they were his worshippers, or their own peculiar gods were identified with the Aryan-Rudra.”³

Therefore, it is reasonable to think that the god Śiva was originally a name of a particular deity of forest-tribes as mentioned above with many peculiar epithets and the said five Mūrtis. I think this is the reason why he has been known as the lord of Pārvati whom we know under the name of Kālī or Dūrga. She too originally belonged to savage tribes which we are going to discuss under the next section. In the intervening period between the time of the Yajur-Veda and the Atharva-Veda, the eight Mūrtis of Śiva came into being in a complete form. But still it is a very curious fact, that in the Vratya book of the Atharva-Veda (XV. 5, 1-7), we find eight Mūrtis of Śiva

¹ Eight Mūrtis are Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, Rudra, Ugra Mahādeva, Iśāna, Bhīma

² P. 181, and Vedic Mythology, p. 4, and Hopkin's Religions of India, p. 178.

³ Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc., p. 104.

except 'Bhīma.' Sir R. G. Bhandarkar wrote on this point in the following way without any special note :—
 "The gods made Bhava the archer, the protector of the Vrātyas, or outcasts, in the intermediate space of the eastern region, Śarva of the southern region, Paśupati of the western region, Ugra of the northern region, Rudra of the lower region, Mahādeva of the upper region, and Īśāna of all the intermediate regions."¹ But MM. H. P. Śāstri expressed his opinion on this point recently in his Annual address in the Asiatic Society of Bengal :—

"The general notion was that it was meant to be a glorification of the Vrātyas. But it is not known whether they were still then in nomad life or settled. But reading the chapter over and over again I found that the Vrātyas induced the creator to look within himself, and he saw Suvarṇa, brilliance. That brilliance increased and grew up, and it became Īśāna, it became Mahādeva, it became Ekavrātya or the totality of the Vrātya community, in other words, the spirit of the Vrātya community, the god of the Vrātya community..... So the chapter is not exactly the glorification of the Vrātyas, but of their spirit, of their god whom they had lost, as stated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-Veda. The Maruts instructed them in the Sāmans, the recital of which re-united them with their god and purified them for entrance into the Vedic community. This idea struck me and I read the chapter again and again with increasing interest, eagerness and enthusiasm. And wonder of wonders! I found my Śiva there. He is Īśāna, he is Mahādeva."²

And again he said :—

"But the most striking and convincing clue to the identification is given in the fifth paragraph of the same

¹ Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and etc., p. 105.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. XVII, 1921, p. xxii.

chapter. The eastern quarter from the Antaradeśa gave him Bhava as his servitor, the southern quarter from the same Antaradeśa gave him Sarva, the western quarter gave him Paśupati, the northern quarter gave him Ugra, the Dhruva gave him Rudra, upper regions gave him Mahādeva and the whole of the Antaradeśa gave him Īšana. Here we get the seven of the eight Mūrtis of Śiva.”¹

And he said in conclusion that Śiva was the god of nomad Vrātya or spirit of Vrātya. This new investigation of his itself gives some light on the subject. But his explanations as well as his view, seem to me to be partially right. Practically the seven Mūrtis of Śiva in the Vrātya book of Atharva-Veda as has been said by MM. H. P. Śāstri open a new debate before us. But already before the Atharva-Veda we find in the Vājasaneyā Saṁhita itself five of the seven Mūrtis of Śiva as I have stated before. But we should admit that there is a close connection between Śiva and the spirit of Vrātyas. In my opinion, originally Śiva was the name of a peculiar god of the Niṣadas or forest-tribes. But afterwards, he was brought into close connection with Rudra of the Aryans and identified with the latter by the Vedic Aryans in the time of the Yajur-Veda. This is the reason why we find many names of Śiva as a characteristic of forest god in the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā, and why again Rudra of the R̥g-Veda began to appear on the scene as Śiva in the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā. And simultaneously with this, in the end of the Yajur-Veda as a whole and in the time of the Atharva-Veda, the Vrātyas or the Outlandic Indo-Aryans, took the Mūrtis of Śiva and engrafted them on their own god, in order to heighten his glory. Here a question may arise why

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XVII, 1921, p. xxiii.

Vrātyas manifested their god under the name or Mūrtis of the forest god of Niṣāda without taking any from the Vedic Aryan Pantheon? The reason of it probably is that the Vrātyas being Aryans outside Vedic Circle always fought against the Vedic Aryans. Therefore, their sympathy naturally tended towards other tribes besides the Vedic Aryans. We know that it is always an admitted human trait to adopt and import ideas from the quarter of our sympathisers. Fortunately for them they found the auspicious name Śiva and his Mūrtis among the Niṣādas engrafted on their own god and glory of their spirit.

Thus the god Śiva originally belonging to the forest tribes or Niṣādas was then connected with the spirit of the Vrātyas, the outlandic Indo-Aryans. Therefore, the so-called Śaivism was a combination, a dual element of worship. And this religious movement was afterwards Brāhmanised by the Vedic Aryan priests in order to encounter the rather strong Buddhist movement at the time of King Aśoka. This ultimately Brāhmanized god Śiva was widely worshipped in India at the beginning of the Christian era. Vāsudeva I (about 10 A. D.) and Wema-kadphises (about 75 A. D.), both powerful princes of the Kuṣāna dynasty, who ruled over a large part of Northern and North-Western India, styled themselves on the reverse of their coins as devotees of Maheśvara, or Śiva. The author of Amarakoṣa gives forty-eight names of Śiva, showing thereby how widely the worship of the god prevailed in India in the early centuries of the Christian era. This Śaivism is also referred to in Āryadeva's work. There we get Śaivism under the name of Īśāna and Maheśvara as the 5th and the 15th among the twenty heretical sets of doctrines. This clearly shows that the Śaivism was a powerful religious movement at the time of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva.

Therefore, obviously it was one of the butts of attack for the Buddhist at that time.

(c) *Śāktism*.—Like Viṣṇu and Śiva, the worship of Śakti or the active female principle as manifested in the form of the consort of Śiva is occupying a very prominent position among the Hindus as one of the popular religions.

Śakti or Devī is known by different names: Ambikā, Durgā, Umā, Kātyāyanī, Bhadrakālī, etc. Among these, Ambikā, Durgā, Umā are very famous epithets of the Devī. But the name Durgā is the most predominant one.

In the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣmaparva, chap. 23), there is a hymn addressed to Durgā by Arjuna under the advice of Kṛṣṇa in which she is prayed for granting victory in the forthcoming battle. This hymn itself shows that at the time when it was composed and inserted in the poem, Durgā had already acquired such importance that she was adored by men as a powerful goddess, able to fulfil their desires. Of the names by which she is addressed we get the following: Kumārī (maiden), Kālī (black or female time as destroyer), Kāpālī (wearer of skulls), Mahākālī (the great destroyer), Caṇḍī (angry), Kātyāyanī (of the Kātya family), Karālā (frightful), Vijayā (victory), Kauśikī (of the Kuśika family), Umā, Kāntāravāsini (dwelling in the forest).¹ These names are, methinks, nothing but personifications of different attributes of Devī or Durgā. Let us examine the history of some of these names like Durgā, Umā, and Ambikā.

Umā.—In the Kena Upanishada (III. 25) Umā is said to be the daughter of Himavat. Prof. Jacobi writes about Umā, thus:—"Apparently she was originally an independent goddess, or at least a kind of divine being,

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, pp. 142-143.

perhaps a female mountain ghost haunting the Himālaya and was later identified with Rudra's (Śiva) wife." ¹ Mr. Ramāprasāda Chanda writes thus:—"the epithet 'Haimavatī' or daughter of 'Himavat' indicates that the goddess Umā was originally worshipped by the dwellers in the Himālaya region." ²

Durgā.—Though she is mentioned in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (XI) as the daughter of the sun or fire, however, in the Mahābhārata (Harivaṃsa, V. 3274) she has been mentioned as a Vindhya-Vāsinī. Prof. Jacobi writes: "A similar mountain-goddess had her home in the Vindhyas. She was of a cruel character, as might be expected from a goddess of the savage tribes living in those hills. Her name is Vindhya-Vāsinī, and she too is identified with Siva's wife." ³ In a hymn to the goddess given in the Harivaṃsa (59, 3234) it is said of her, "You are worshipped by the Śavaras, barbarous (savages), and Pulindas." This clearly shows that Durgā was originally worshipped by those savage tribes of the Vindhya region. ⁴

Ambikā.—In the post-Vedic period, that is to say in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (X. 18), Ambikā is mentioned as Śiva's wife, but in the Vājasaneyya Saṃhitā (3,5), she is said to be mentioned as Rudra's sister. ⁵ From what has been said, at any rate, it can scarcely be doubted that those mountain goddesses or savage goddesses from different parts of West, North and East India, and those which were worshipped by different classes of un-Vedic people from the time of Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (which

¹ E. R. E., Vol. 2, p. 813a.

² Indo-Aryan Races, p. 123.

³ E. R. E., Vol. 2, p. 813a.

⁴ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc., p. 143.

⁵ Vedic Mythology of Macdonell, p. 74.

probably dated from the third century B. C. according to Keith)¹ and onward, in course of time, were combined and unified with the Vedic female goddess Ambikā, the sister of Rudra and these two together became the wives of Śiva, when Śiva, the god of the Nisāda or the spirit of the Vrātyas, was identified with Vedic Rudra in the time of Yajur-Veda and Atharva-Veda (in the 15th chapter). Here a question naturally suggests itself how such goddesses worshipped by different classes of people were identified with Ambikā and all together crystallized into the Devi or Śakti of Śiva? In answer to this question, I may quote Mr. Ramāprasāda Chanda's explanation:—

“The Śakti conception of the Devi or Ādya Śakti ‘The primordial energy’ and Jagadambā, ‘The mother of the Universe’ also very probably arose in a society where matriarchate or mother-kin was prevalent. The most important question in connection with Śāktism is, among what division of the Indian people did it originate? A Sanskrit stanza in anustup metre recited by the Śākta paṇḍitas of Bengal affords the traditional answer to this question. In this stanza we are told:—‘The cult (Vidyā) was revealed in Gauḍa (Bengal), popularised (prabalīkṛtā, *lit.* ‘strengthened’) by the Maithilas, it here and there prevails in Mahārāṣṭra, and has disappeared in Gujrāt.’² Bengal is still the stronghold of Śāktism, and there are Śāktas in Mithilā (North Bihar), the Marāṭhā country and Gujrāt. Here, with the questionable exception of Mithilā, all other countries belong to the outer Indo-Aryan belt. Did Śāktism then originate among the Indo-Aryans of the outer countries? If evidences were forthcoming to prove

¹ J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 840.

² “गौड़ प्रकाशिता विद्या मेधिलैः प्रबलीकृता ।

क्वचित् कचिन् महाराष्ट्रे गुज्जरे प्रलथं गता ॥

that mother-kin at one time prevailed among them, the traditional view regarding the origin of Śāktism, could be accepted as a working hypothesis..... From these (Mahābhārata and Dasarathajātaka as well as Mahāvamśa) evidences we may infer that mother-kin was at one time universal among the Indo-Aryans of outer belt and led to the growth of Śāktism among them.”¹

Āryadeva mentioned a Śakti doctrine as the 9th among the twenty heretical sets of doctrines in his work which I have mentioned already. At present, I am not in a position to identify this with the so-called Śakti of Durgā or Devī worship. However, it is beyond doubt that Śāktism was prevailing at the time of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva and that also became one of the objects of attack by the Buddhists at the time.

The main Purāṇas which cover generally the time from Āpastamba-Dharma-śāstra (which is not later than the third century B. C.)² to the Gupta age (3rd and 4th centuries A. D.), much helped to further the above-mentioned popular religious movements. Not only that, the Purāṇas themselves created other new popular faiths like the worship of ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Gopāla Kṛiṣṇa and allied Paurāṇic faiths during the period covering from the time of Nāgārjuna to Vasubandhu.

I have given above almost a full account of the philosophical and religious condition of India at the time of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva respectively. Of these two-fold aspects—philosophical and religious, the former may be termed the theoretical side which none but advanced men (constituting the high intellectual social class) could accept but the latter was the popular religion proper, propounded for the acceptance and benefit of the masses

¹ Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 153-156.

² Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, p. 90.

or common people. The time required the meeting of both these demands by any movement which wanted to establish a firm hold over the country. Nāgārjuna understood the situation aright and consequently systematized a Buddhist philosophy on the one hand and established the so-called 'Sahaja-mārga' on the other, as auxiliary religious practices.

At the time of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu (about 310 or 320-400 A. D.) the 'Sahaja-mārga' inculcating a recital of Buddha's names was prevailing in the Buddhist community in a much more preponderate condition than that of Nāgārjuna. For, at the time of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, the Nāma-vāda and other allied religious practices were prevailing not only among the common mass but also among highly advanced people. From this the reader should not suppose that in the Buddhist community at that time there were no followers of the Kāthina-mārga. Therefore, Asaṅga stated in his Mahāyānasamparigraha-Śāstra thus:—

“If any one recite the name of Prabhuta-ratna Buddha, thereby he will obtain the supreme perfect Enlightenment.”¹

Again, in the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṅkāra-Śāstra-kārikā, we meet with the following statement:—

“In order to destroy the indolence, Mahāyāna sūtra speaks that, if any one pray to be born in the Sukhāvati (pure-land), he will certainly be born there. And if any one who reciting even the name of Tathāgata-Vimalacandra-prabha he will certainly obtain perfect Enlightenment.”²

¹ Lai Bundle, Vol. 9, p. 69a of Chinese Tripiṭaka (see Nanjio's catalogue No. 1183).

² कौशीयावरणस्य प्रतिपन्नसंभाव । ये सुखावल्यां प्रणिधानं करिष्यन्ति ते तत्रोपपद्यन्ते इति ।
विमलचन्द्रप्रभस्य च तथागतस्य वामधेयगृह्यमालिष्य निश्चयो भवत्यनुत्तरायां सम्यक्संबोधिविति ।
(Edited by Dr. S. Lévi, p. 83.)

The same idea is found, again in his *Mahāyānābhidharma-saṅgiti-Śāstra*.¹

Next let us see what was the corresponding condition at the time of Aśvaghōṣa II (probably former part of the 5th century A. D.). In the *Mahāyāna-śradhotpāda-śāstra* he stated thus :—

“Therefore, it is advisable for those novices to cherish this thought: All Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the ten quarters having great, unimpeded supernatural powers (*abhiññā*), are able to emancipate all suffering beings by means of various expedencies that are good and excellent (*upāyakaūśalya*).

“After this reflexion, they should make great vows (*mahāpranidhāna*), and with full concentration of spiritual powers think of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, when they have such a firm conviction, free from all doubts, they will assuredly be able to be born in the Buddha-country beyond (*buddha-kshetra*), when they pass away from this present life, and seeing there Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to complete their faith and to eternally escape from all evil creations (*apāya*). Therefore, it is said in the *Sūtra* that if devoted men and women be filled with concentration of thought, think of Amitābha Buddha in the world of highest happiness (*sukhāvātī*) in the Western region, and direct (*parināma*) all the root of their good work towards being born there, they would assuredly be born there.

“Thus always seeing Buddhas there, their faith will be strengthened, and they will never relapse therefrom. Receiving instruction in the doctrine, and recognising the *Dharmakāya* of the Buddha, they will by gradual

¹ Lai Bundle, Vol. 8, p. 77a of Chinese Tripiṭaka (see also Nanjio's catalogue, No. 264).

discipline be able to enter upon the state of truth (*i. e.* Buddhahood)."¹

In the above statement we should mark one thing that at the time of Nāgārjuna as well as Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, the 'Sahaja-mārga' was simply reciting the name of any Buddha. But in the time of Aśvaghōṣa II, the 'Sahaja-mārga' was not simply reciting the name of any Buddha but limited to the name of Amitābha-Buddha only. This fact can be proved even from Archæological evidence. Because, we find many images of Amitābha-Buddha in the Buddhist sculpture specially in the Gupta period. A tendency of the worship of Amitābha-Buddha or reciting the name of him was existing even in the time of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu as an adjunct of the 'Sahaja-mārga.' But it was only at the time of Aśvaghōṣa II and later on, that 'Sahaja-mārga' exclusively came to include only the reciting of the name of Amitābha-Buddha.

The great Chinese teacher of Amitābha sect, Tshz'-ming some time called Hui-zih, met with Itsing as soon as he had gone back to China from India, and Tshz'-ming determined to come to India. So he started from China in 702 A. D. by sea and after passing Kun-lun (Siam and states of the Peninsula of Malacca), Fo-shi (modern Palambang, the north-eastern coast of Sumatra)² and finally Ceylon after three years he arrived in India. He lived 13 years in India. During this time he asked many teachers many times such questions as "By what form of Buddhism and by what kind of practice one can obtain salvation?" From every quarter he received the same answer, *viz.*, worship the Amitābha-Buddha and

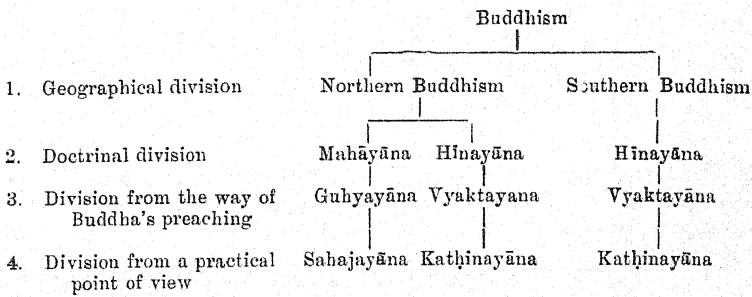
¹ Awakening of Faith by T. Suzuki, pp. 144-146.

² J. Takakus's I Tsing, p. 1, and Chan-Ju-kuo by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, p. 63.

you go to Sukhāvati.¹ This piece of information clearly shows that the worship of Amitābha-Buddha or reciting his name strongly prevailed in India at that time.

To conclude, in the above, our aim has been to present a historical account of the terms 'Sahaja-mārga' and 'Kāṭhina-mārga' in Buddhism and at the same time specially we have noted the particular form of Buddhist religion known as 'Sahaja-mārga' was decidedly the result of under the great influence of popular Hindu faiths from the time of Nāgārjuna onwards.

Let us at the end of this introduction summarize, in charts, different terms already dealt with.



¹ Chih Bundle, Vol. 5, p. 103b.a.